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CONTENTS

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A Quarterly

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THE BALTIMORE ASSOCIATION FOR THE MORAL AND EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE COLORED PEOPLE 1864-1870

By Richard Paul Fuke

The 1864 constitution which freed Maryland's more than 87,000 slaves also gave the state its first system of free public education. Article 8 of the new document declared that "the general assembly, at its first session after the adoption of this constitution, shall provide a uniform system of free public schools, by which a school shall be kept open and supported . . . in each school district."[1] Apart from emancipation, this educational provision constituted the Union Party's most ambitious reform. In one step, the Unionist majority in the constitutional convention proposed to transform Maryland's backward county school system into an efficient, centralized operation, and to offer free schooling to all Maryland children.

All children, that is, except Negroes. Few emancipationists fought for Negro education. A handful believed in it and supported the idea, but they were too few to force their position.

[1] *The Constitution of the State of Maryland [1864]* (Annapolis, 1864) p. 138.

Most Unionist delegates to the constitutional convention feared that a proposal to educate Negroes would touch off such strong reaction that the constitution would meet with defeat at the polls. People were simply not ready for Negro schools. "There will come a time," said Joseph M. Cushing, from Baltimore, "when this state will be forced by public opinion . . . to provide means for educating our colored population. Your committee refrained, [however], from putting into [its] report a provision for their education, because they believe that as yet the people are not ready for any separate system . . . for the blacks."[2]

Cushing and his colleagues stopped short, however, from cutting Negroes off permanently. In the face of a conservative effort to insure that black children should never receive the benefit of public support, the emancipationists pushed through a constitutional provision loose enough to permit future change. The final document did not prohibit state supported Negro schools. It simply omitted any reference to the question. Moreover, it kept the door to reform open by distributing state educational funds according to the total number of children, white and black, in each county, rather than the number of white children alone. Should the legislature eventually decide to support Negro schools, it had, at least, a basis from which to work. The system of distributing funds would not have to be changed.[3]

In January 1865, the Maryland legislature went a step further, and for the first time in state history, made actual, although tentative provision for Negro education. At the urging of Libertus Van Bokkelen, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, both houses approved a bill which allocated that por-

[2] *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Maryland, 1864* (Annapolis, 1864), II, p. 1251.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 1250-1256. The constitution provided for an education tax of not less than ten cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property. This money went towards the basic operating costs of the public schools. In addition, the constitution called for a tax of not less than five cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property to provide a permanent educational fund. In one sense, distribution of the tax money according to the total school age population worked to the planters' advantage. Counties with a large Negro population received funds for both black and white children but were required to spend it only on the latter. This allowed a larger student expenditure than in counties with few Negroes. Many tidewater delegates saw the advantage in this plan and supported what was essentially an emancipationist measure. Others, however, recognized the future implications involved and were willing to sacrifice the extra money in return for a constitutional prohibition of state support for Negro education.

tion of the education tax paid by Negroes to the construction of separate schools for black children.[4] But even this measure went only part way. Van Bokkelen, a Presbyterian minister and strong friend of Negro education, wanted the act to enforce compulsory appropriation and spending measures, but the lawmakers refused to comply. The Public Instruction Act of 1865 simply suggested a procedure and made funds available for counties that wished to use it. For the next two years, county and city school boards did nothing to separate Negro tax dollars from the general operating accounts. Nor did they build any schools. In 1867, the Baltimore city council assumed control of Negro schools in the city, but it was not until the 1870's that the counties followed suit.[5]

Public education for Negroes was simply too new an idea to take hold immediately. The move to provide schools for *white* children was more than enough to suit many Marylanders, and those who were willing to go that far had great difficulty in viewing Negroes as fit subjects for formal education. The statewide system was an experiment at best, and there was little thought, at first, of including Negroes in it. Some of emancipation's staunchest friends were the first to suggest caution and delay. The *Baltimore American,* for example, recognized that freedmen would want and need schooling, but hesitated to make an issue of it. Instead, it encouraged planters to run their own "evening schools as reward for faithful exertions. . . ."[6]

It was not that Marylanders were altogether unaccustomed to black schools. For years, a few had existed here and there, especially in Baltimore. Many city Negroes had acquired at least a

[4] The act provided that "The total amount of taxes paid for school purposes by the colored people of any county and the city of Batlimore together with any donations that may be made, shall be set aside for the purpose of founding schools for colored children, which schools shall he established under the direction of the School Commissioners and shall be subject to such rules and regulations as the Board of Education shall prescribe." ["An Act to add a new Article to the Code of Public General Laws, to be entitled, 'Public Instruction,' providing a uniform system of free public schools for the State of Maryland . . . ," *Laws of the State of Maryland, 1865* (Annapolis, 1865), Chapter 160, p. 269.]

[5] See below p. 249.

[6] *Baltimore American,* May 21, 1864. The *American* did not hesitate long in coming around to support state aid for Negro education. By late 1864 and early 1865, it stood in the vanguard of the movement to encourage the state legislature to assume responsibility for Negro schools. The *American* shared with other radicals a common reluctance to push too far and too fast when ratification of the new constitution was still in doubt. Although it was willing to work for Negro education, it was not eager to force an issue that might endanger the constitution. Emancipation was the vital issue in 1864.

modicum of education. Both black and white churches had operated and continued to operate Sunday or Sabbath schools for Negro children and adults; and many of the churches offered training in rudimentary reading and writing. Some conducted a more formal program with day classes in arithmetic and other practical subjects.[7] In addition, Negroes themselves owned and operated a few private schools with trained black teachers and large classes. In 1864, one of these Baltimore schools had been operating for over a decade. It drew support from the legacy of a Negro named Nelson Wells and opened its classroom to some seventy-five pupils.[8]

Individual efforts, however, were not enough. There were few such institutions in the tidewater counties, and only a handful in Baltimore. They fell far short of meeting the needs of Maryland's black population. Prior to 1864, the number of eligible Negro children who went to school on a regular basis remained small. The available financial resources were never sufficient, and qualified teachers were too scarce. Moreover, such schools lacked a unified organization in both purpose and operation. It was a disparate system at best. Schools succeeded in some locations but failed in others.[9]

II

Yet despite this lack of a firm educational foundation and the absence of either state or popular support, the years 1864 to 1870 witnessed in Maryland the inauguration of a widespread, centralized system of Negro schools. In the combined efforts of a handful of Baltimore citizens, northern relief societies, and the Freedmen's Bureau, the state underwent a revolution in black education.

If most people in Maryland were reluctant to educate Negroes, northerners and the federal government were not. During the early years of Reconstruction, thousands of dollars poured into Maryland and other southern states. Such organizations as the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the American

[7] James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860* (New York, 1921), pp. 198-210.

[8] *American Missionary,* IX, no. 1 (January 1865), pp. 11-12; J. W. Alvord, *First Semi-Annual Report on Schools and Finances for Freedom, January 1, 1866* (Washington, 1868), p. 8. Willis' name might actually have been Wills. I have seen it spelled both ways.

[9] Wright, *Free Negro in Maryland,* pp. 198-210.

Missionary Association, and the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association supplied not only funds but teachers in a drive to set up black schools in all the ex-slave states. Soon after the war, the Freedmen's Bureau moved in to lend support with cash, building materials, and military protection.[10]

In Maryland, the principal activists were the officers and members of a newly formed organization, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, or, as it came to be called, simply, the Baltimore Association. These men were among the first in the state to advocate a fully organized system of black schools. It was their efforts that brought in outside financial aid and encouraged teachers to work in Maryland. In addition to acting as a go-between for Negroes and their northern benefactors, the Association provided the drive, organization, and perseverance necessary for what proved to be a huge undertaking in an indifferent and often hostile environment.

The Baltimore Association began in November 1864, when a group of more than thirty Baltimore businessmen, lawyers, and clergymen gathered to determine what they could do to promote Negro education. Many of these men had already made a name for themselves in the fight for the emancipation of Maryland's slaves. Some would continue to work with and for Negroes on the problems of apprenticeship and civil rights. All of them belonged to, or sympathized with, the radical minority of the Union party. To a man, they wanted more for Negroes than a simple declaration of their freedom.[11]

Constitutional convention delegates Archibald Stirling Jr., Henry Stockbridge, Joseph M. Cushing, and William Daniel took active part, as well as Judge Hugh Lennox Bond of the Baltimore Criminal Court. Five ministers, led by Fielder Israel of the Associate Reformed Church and John Fathergill Waterhouse Ware of the First Unitarian Society, contributed much to the organization and strength of this first meeting. On the strictly business side, philanthropist William J. Albert offered the Association encouraging support.[12]

[10] See below p. 227.

[11] Baltimore Association Papers, MS. 94, Md. Hist. Soc., Baltimore, Md.; Baltimore Yearly Meeting, Religious Society of Friends, Orthodox, "Meetings for Sufferings, 1829-1877," Quaker Records, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md. (Hereafter cited as Quaker Records).

[12] *Baltimore American*, Dec. 12, 1864.

Fielder Israel. Original Photo from Carte De Visite. *Maryland Historical Society.*

Also present were a number of Baltimore Quakers whose efforts during the previous year had been instrumental in getting the association started. Since the autumn of 1863, Richard M. Janney, Francis T. King, James Carey, James C. Thomas, and Jesse Tyson had been members of a Friends' committee set up to explore the possibility of state supported Negro education. Their efforts, so far, had met with little success. On October 22, 1864, the committee reported that "during the past year we have had . . . interviews with leading colored ministers, members of the Legislature and State Convention, and with the President of the City School Board, . . . but all [the state and city officials] were of the opinion that it was not proper to agitate the education of the colored population of our state publicly before the new constitution was submitted to a vote of the people."[13] Determined to continue its efforts, the committee decided to broaden its base by joining in the Association with like-minded leaders in other fields.[14]

On December 12, 1864, the Baltimore Association presented the public with its opening statement of policy.

> The new Constitution [it said] has added to the eighty thousand free colored people of our state, eighty-seven thousand others, recently slaves. For the most part they are ignorant. . . . Thrown upon their own resources, they cannot be expected to know the

[13] Quaker Records.

[14] *Ibid.* Although it is not clear who actually called this first meeting, the Quakers would seem the most logical group to do so.

> necessity of industry, or how to seek permanent occupation and employment. We . . . think it the duty, [therefore], of every citizen of Maryland . . . to make this population most useful to the state, . . . [and to] instruct them in their industry . . . that they may rise in the scale of being, and be better fitted for the varied duties they are called upon to perform.[15]

That its work with Maryland's Negroes might begin successfully, the Association closed its statement with a plea for financial assistance:

> Those of our fellow citizens who feel any interest in a people upon whom their vote has thrust the responsibilities of life, . . . are invited to give us their support in such manner as they may think most useful, that we . . . may do what long since ought to have been done, . . . provide means for the moral and educational improvement of one fourth our population.[16]

At first the response was discouraging. In the Association's first year, the finance committee received only $3,957.70 from Baltimore citizens, including Association members. This sum represented less than one quarter of the first twelve months' operating expenses, and barely twice what the rural freedmen were able to contribute on their own.[17] In February 1865, the committee presented its plea to the state legislature, but to no avail. The petition reached the floor of the House of Delegates but failed to advance past the committee on colored population.[18] The Association then attempted a drive to solicit funds from city churches. The effort realized almost nothing. The financial committee addressed two hundred and fifty letters to Baltimore clergymen, but received only twenty-three replies. Of these, only two—both from Jewish rabbis—contained contributions.[19]

[15] *Baltimore American,* Dec. 12, 1864; Hugh Lennox Bond Papers, MS. 1159, Md. Hist. Soc.; Baltimore Association Papers.

[16] *Ibid.* The Association also sent this statement and plea to several northern newspapers and to the presidents of several northern benevolent societies.

[17] *First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, November 1865* (Baltimore, 1866), p. 8. (Hereafter cited as *First Annual Report*).

[18] *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates, January Session, 1865* (Annapolis, 1865), p. 271.

[19] *First Annual Report,* p. 10. Most Maryland Churches took a conservative stand on the Negro school issue. The Methodist Episcopal Church (North), which did more than any other institution for Negroes, was no exception. It conducted Sabbath schools and set up its own Negro Conference, but did nothing to support the Baltimore Association. Part of the reason probably lay in the

It was thus becoming apparent that emancipation had done little to convince most white Baltimoreans of the necessity or advantages of Negro education. Moreover, most of those who supported emancipation, still held back on the school issue. Many either feared or considered impossible the proposal to elevate Negroes through education to a higher social or economic level. One minister explained in responding to the Association's plea, "I sympathize with your objects . . . and acknowledge the justice of the arguments set forth, [but] I fear there is with some, an expectation that the colored people can be at once elevated to the same social position as whites, and [be made] capable of performing all the duties of citizenship. This I esteem a great error."[20]

Despite the lack of support from either state or popular sources, the Baltimore Association did not go unaided. To start with, at least one branch of the civil government was willing to lend its assistance. The Baltimore City Council was in the hands of Unionists who were sympathetic to the cause of Negro education, and on May 31, 1865, they pushed through an ordinance allocating $10,000 to the Association's school program, $4,000 for that year and the balance for 1866.[21] In addition to these city funds, the Association could count on the support of every Negro in the state. Maryland's black population possessed little cash in 1865, but what the blacks did have, they donated eagerly.[22] Even the black rural farm laborer was able to help. In his willingness to provide room and board for newly-arrived teachers, he and his fellow workers contributed the equivalent of over $2,000 in the Association's first year.[23]

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internal politics of the church. The Baltimore Conference which covered the white churches in Maryland had split during the war, part of it joining the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. That part which remained in the northern fold did so in support of the Union, but shared some of the antipathy towards Negroes of its departed brethern. Throughout early Reconstruction it retained these conservative views and reacted somewhat testily to reform pressure from more liberal northern conferences.

[20] *First Annual Report,* p. 12.

[21] *Journal of Proceedings of the First Branch City Council of Baltimore at the Sessions of 1864 and 1865* (Baltimore, 1865), p. 572; *The Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, Passed at the Sessions of 1864 and 1865* (Baltimore, 1865), p. 100. (Hereafter these two publications will be cited as *City Council Proceedings* and *City Council Ordinances.*)

[22] The contribution of $3,957.70 from Baltimore citizens probably included money from Negroes. The Association report, however, does not make this clear.

[23] *First Annual Report,* p. 8.

The largest amount of financial support came from outside the state. From the North and abroad the Association received over $7,000. The chief contributors were the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association and the Central Committee of the Society of Friends of England for the Relief of Emancipated Negroes.[24] In addition, northern philanthropic societies provided most of the teachers. Of the thirty-four men and women (seventeen black and seventeen whites) who taught in 1865 with the Baltimore Association, at least twenty-three came from states north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Their sponsors, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the National Freedmen's Relief Association (New York), and the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, paid both transportation and salaries.[25] In addition, there were six northern teachers in Maryland working independently of the others, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association.[26]

On January 9, 1865, the Baltimore Association opened its first school in "Crane's Building," in downtown Baltimore, on the northeast corner of Calvert and Saratoga Streets. After expensive renovations, this structure housed four classrooms, four teachers, and over 370 pupils.[27] "School Number 1," as it came to be called, was just a start. Not a month had passed before the Association opened the doors of a second school, this one near the corner of Sharp and Pratt streets. It had 226 pupils divided into three classes.[28] In March, still another was opened on Biddle Alley near Orchard Street with close to 200 children.[29]

During the same period, Association schools were opening in the tidewater counties. The first was in Easton, Talbot County, and the second in Havre de Grace, Harford County. As the year went on, others were started in Dorchester, Kent, Anne Arundel, Montgomery, and Cecil counties. By November 1, 1865, the

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.; Freedmen's Record,* I, no. 7 (July 1865), p. 119, and no. 11 (Nov. 1865), p. 186; *National Freedman,* 1:9 (Oct. 15, 1865), pp. 310-311; *American Missionary,* IX:10 (Oct. 1865), p. 217. Of the thirty-four teachers, I could trace the homes of only twenty-three. The rest of them probably came from the North too. In 1865, only one or two teachers were native Marylanders.

[26] *American Missionary,* IX, no. 10 (Oct. 1865), p. 217.

[27] *First Annual Report,* pp. 4, 7.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 7.

[29] *Ibid.* These figures constitute the average attendance. The number of pupils on the roll books was considerably larger. "School No. 1," for example, listed a total of 485 pupils. The Sharp Street school listed 408. The total average attendance in Baltimore was 1,206. The total listed on the rolls was 1,957.

Baltimore Association had established seventeen black schools in tidewater Maryland and seven in the city of Baltimore. Their location, size, and opening date were as follows:

Baltimore Schools[30]

Building	Location	Avg. No. Pupils	Date
Crane's Building	N.E. corner Calvert, Saratoga	370	Jan. 9
Methodist Episcopal Church	Sharp near Pratt	226	Feb. 9
Hersey's Schoolhouse	Biddle Alley near Ross St.	191*	March 1
Methodist Protestant Church	Chestnut near Front	60	March 22
Caulkers' Hall	Dallas near Eastern	218	May 1
Methodist Episcopal Church	Orchard near Ross	191*	Sept. 1
Ridgeway Hall	Montgomery near Howard	141	Sept. 4

* In 1865, the Orchard Street school was added to the Biddle Alley school. The average attendance of 191 is the combined total.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 7.

County Schools[31]

Location	Pupils*	Date
Easton (Talbot)	94	Jan. 1
Havre de Grace (Harford)	70	May 23
St. Michaels (Talbot)	42	June 1
Cumberland (Allegany)	95	Sept. 27
Church Creek (Dorchester)	32	Sept. 27
Millington (Kent)	73	Sept. 27
Edesville (Kent)	44	Oct. 1
Fountain Church (Kent)	57	Oct. 1
Vienna (Dorchester)	65	Oct. 1
Annapolis (Anne Arundel)	98	Oct. 1
Worten (Kent)	61	Oct. 1
Blackwater (Dorchester)	40	Oct. 6
Trappe (Talbot)	44	Oct. 6
Chestertown (Kent)	82	Oct. 9
Hopewell Crossroads (Harf.)	40	Oct. 10
Sandy Spring (Montgomery)	72	Oct. 16
Rowlandsville (Cecil)	60	Oct. 21
Quaker Neck (Kent)	40	Nov. 1

* This would appear to be the actual number on the roll book instead of the average attendance. The report is not clear on this point.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

III

In one year's time, at the cost of some $17,000, the Baltimore Association had erected twenty-five schools and enrolled over 3,000 Negro pupils.[32] But such an achievement did not come easily. It took more than cash and teachers to inaugurate a school "system" of this magnitude. For one thing, the Association had to contend with the administrative problems inherent in such a widespread operation. Although it ran a central organization which required all teachers to answer to Baltimore, the Association lacked sufficient manpower to supervise either the construction or day-to-day functioning of its outlying schools. In fact, apart from its teachers and a sole travelling agent, it had no field staff at all. It relied, instead, on the efforts of local Unionists, whenever there were any, and on the cooperation and help of Negroes themselves.[33]

In most cases, the Association received the help it needed. It managed to encourage enough local enthusiasm to ensure at

Baltimore, December 15th, 1864.

Broadside.
Maryland Historical Society.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 7.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 19-29.

least the start of its schools. A few sympathetic whites provided land or lumber, and some assisted in the building of schoolhouses. Occasionally, an interested individual might canvass Negro neighborhoods to work up support. Usually, though, Negroes needed no encouragement. Their excitement over education was more than sufficient to get them going. Blacks provided most of the city and county classroom space by offering their churches for both day and night use. They supported Association teachers by paying their room and board. They contributed to new school buildings by furnishing most of the supplies and labor. In some instances, Negroes did everything but provide the teacher and his salary.[34]

If there happened to be a Negro of some education or social stature in a particular area, the Association often employed him to make the rounds of Negro churches. His purpose was to encourage rural laborers to organize committees so that they might lay the groundwork for a neighborhood school. The efforts of William Perkins, a black restaurant owner in Chestertown, Kent County, were typical if somewhat overenergetic. On November 1, 1865, Perkins reported the following to Association secretary John T. Graham.

> Sir: I went to . . . Spanish Neck Church yesterday, and met a small congregation there. . . . I organized a Board of Trustees for the school; appointed a Treasurer and Secretary and raised a subscription fund of $47 for the school. They will be ready to receive their teacher on the 18th of this month. . . . I left Spanish Neck Church at 2 o'clock and went to Centreville. [I] found a small congregation there. . . . I laid the matter before them in the best possible manner, my time being short. I made the same organization as at Spanish Neck Church, and raised a fund of $46.50. They are ready for their teacher. . . . I left Centreville at 5:30 P.M., arriving at Salem at 8 P.M.; met a pretty large congregation there. . . . I succeeded in making the same organization as at the above places [and] raised a sum of $53.50. They are ready for their teacher on the 18th of November.[35]

More serious than the problem of staff shortage was that of local white opposition. The great majority of tidewater planters could see no good in Negro education. At best, they considered

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 5
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

it an inconvenience: a drain on their work force. At worst, their indifference provided a protective cloak for those bent on more violent forms of opposition. "Owing to the still existing prejudices of our people," explained John T. Graham, "many teachers have, instead of sympathy and encouragement, met with much harsh treatment."[36] Only a few rural whites stooped low enough to threaten teachers, especially women (Negro or white), but there were enough of them to cause trouble in almost every school district. Rude and vulgar talk was common, and all too often, threats and boasts turned into action. In some areas a teacher's very life and limb were in constant danger. Martha Hoy, black, reported from Trappe, Talbot County, that when her school started, "men, apparently intoxicated, would come and rush to my schoolhouse door and frighten the children in such a manner that the parents of my scholars would not send them to school." Occasionally, white children attacked her directly. "In the morning, when I would be going to school," she wrote, "they would lay hoops and other impediments in my way to trip me; in the afternoons, on returning home they would push me off the walk, throw dirt on me, and stone me."[37] In Church Creek, Dorchester County, white citizens were only slightly more civilized. Instead of stoning her, they held an indignation meeting and sent a delegation to Mary S. Osbourne, white, telling her to leave town.[38] From Centreville, Queen Anne's County, Charles A. Watkins, a black school trustee, reported an incident in which the local teacher, also black, was "collared and beaten," by a party of six whites. The unfortunate victim struggled loose, but was "shot at" in the process.[39]

Equally disturbing was the white threat to Negro schoolhouses or to churches which offered spaces for classrooms. In 1865 and 1866, arsonists set fire to several such buildings, and in doing so, placed a severe strain on Negro and Baltimore Association resources. It seemed that every church with a school was

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[37] *Baltimore American,* Dec. 4, 1865.

[38] *Freedmen's Record,* I, no. 12 (Dec. 1865), p. 194; *First Annual Report,* pp. 22-23.

[39] Charles A. Watkins to O. O. Howard, March 31, 1866, Record Group 105, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, District of Columbia, Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner." National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter cited as RG 105, D.C.)

in danger. Whites who had hitherto accepted the religious purpose of these buildings were now incensed at their new connection with education. As early as December, 1864, whites in Newtown, Somerset County, burned a church in which Negroes were trying to start a school.[40] During the next few months, flames destroyed similar efforts in Cecil and Queen Anne's counties.[41]

The Baltimore Association suffered its most serious losses in October and November of 1865, when within a three week period, arsonists burned the Negro church-schools in Millington and Edesville, Kent County. In each case, it had been but a month since the school had opened its doors for the first time. Such setbacks were not only costly, but drained teachers, students, and parents of their determination. On October 21, 1865, the day after the Millington fire, Addie T. Howard, the teacher there, wrote to the Association describing both the incident and its debilitating effects:

> Mr. Graham: I write in great haste to inform you of the calamity which befell us last night. Some malicious person or persons set fire to the church in which we have been holding our school. . . . The fire was set on the north side of the Church and was not discovered until the flames had made considerable headway. Of course, nothing could be done to save the building. It is a great loss to the people here, as they are very poor, and will not be able to build another, perhaps for years. . . . The people here now think that it will be useless to hold school here for some time, and perhaps for the rest of the year. They were trying to make preparations to put up a school house soon, but it would meet with the same ill luck.[42]

It was some time before the destruction of churches and school houses had run its course. On November 11, 1865, whites burned a building in Baltimore County, and on March 13, 1866, William Perkin's school in Spanish Neck, Queen Anne's County, went up in flames.[43] Several more were to follow. It was not until late that year or even in the next that the danger

[40] *Baltimore Clipper*, Dec. 9, 1864.

[41] *First Annual Report*, p. 29.

[42] Record Group 233, Records of the House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary, Testimony in Investigation of the Government of Maryland, 1867, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[43] Charles A. Watkins to O. O. Howard, March 13, 1866, RG 105, D.C., Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner."

to Negro schools began to dissipate, and by that time a total of twelve buildings had been leveled.[44]

In the end, the Baltimore Association pushed back the more extreme opposition to both its teachers and property. Its very success in some areas helped erase the possibility of violence in others. By the end of 1866, white planters had come to see that Negro education would not precipitate a social revolution in the conservative tidewater. Their gradual acceptance of Association schools meant that the arsonist could no longer count on the protection of his community. Furthermore, at an early stage, the state government supported Association by condemning the use of violence. After the Millington and Edesville fires, Governor Augustus W. Bradford offered a $500 reward for information leading to the arrest of the incendiaries.[45] The culprits remained on the loose, but this expression of state support offered encouragement to teachers, students, and parents alike. And in 1866, when the Freedmen's Bureau began its work on the Eastern Shore, Negro schools were at last assured some physical protection.[46]

IV

Despite administrative difficulties and white opposition, the Association's schools, once started, had a flourishing first year. Teachers' monthly reports featured glowing accounts of student attendance, enthusiasm, and progress. In commenting on their first term's experience, most teachers agreed that their schools had been successful. On October 31, 1865, Martha L. Hoy reported from Trappe, Talbot County, that "My school continues to progress in studies and also in number. I must say that I am really proud of it; my scholars are clean and neat. . . . My school does me honor."[47] That same day, Josephine T. Ellender, at Worton, Kent County, wrote "It is with great pleasure that I . . .

[44] *Freedmen's Record*, II, no. 11 (Nov., 1866), pp. 194-195; *Baltimore American*, Oct. 12, 1866.

[45] Executive Papers, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

[46] James M. Johnston to Jacob F. Chur, July 19, 1866, and Charles McDougall to Edgar M. Gregory, March 5, 1867, RG 105, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, District of Maryland, Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner," National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter cited as RG 105, Md.); J. W. Alvord, *Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1867* (Washington, 1868).

[47] *First Annual Report*, p. 20.

report to you the progress of my school. The day school is coming on very nicely."[48] A few days earlier, Mary E. Perry, in Blackwater, Dorchester County, reported that "I have a very fine school, and the children are making progress every day. I opened school with about thirteen scholars, and there appears to be a new one coming every day. . . . There all seem to study well and learn very fast."[49] Mary J. C. Anderson, at Havre de Grace, discovered much the same thing. "I am happy to say," she wrote, "that [the children] improve in their studies quite fast, . . . and are very punctual and obedient. The parents of the children seem much pleased and satisfied, and do all they can to aid the Trustees."[50]

Teachers were quite pleased with children's specific accomplishments. Mary S. Osbourne, at Church Creek, reported that "One class of six knew the alphabet but could not read at all; now they read well, as far as *First Step No. 12* on the Chart." Some of her pupils had progressed even further. "A class of seven," she wrote, "read well in the First Reader, and are to commence Arithmetic at once. Another . . . [is] using the Third Reader and studying Geography." Her best children "have been practicing writing with pen and ink, and can form many letters as well."[51] Mary E. Perry, at Blackwater, reported that some of her children "can read quite well [and] can write a plain hand. They have studied Geography and Arithmetic, and can read very well in the Second Reader. [A few] read well enough to use the Third Reader and . . . are advanced enough to use Geography and Intellectual Arithmetic."[52] Matilda Anderson, teaching at Edesville, Kent County, said that her children were at work "printing small sentences on slates." She explained further that "In the Sheldon's Readers, some of my scholars are as far advanced as 'the Fox,' page 21; others not so far but still pretty good. On the chart they recite perfectly from No. 5 and 6; also the Tonic and Subtonic exercises on No. 3."[53]

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 22. The Baltimore Association used the following text books and materials: Boston Primary Slates; Sheldon's First Readers and Charts; Hilliards Second, Third, and Intermediate Readers; Worcester's Spellers; Davies' Arithmetics; Monteith's Geographies; Mitchell's Outline Maps; Payson, Dunton & Co.'s Copy books; Walton's Arithmetical Tables.

Governor Augustus W. Bradford. 1806-1881. *Maryland Historical Society.*

The first year accomplishments of the Baltimore Association, its teachers and students, constituted a remarkable success story. In a statement published on November 29, 1865, Secretary John T. Graham challenged Marylanders "to show more effective and competent teachers, or more orderly, studious and attentive scholars than [those in] the schools of the association." He asked, too, if they could "point out an enterprise which in so short a period has done more by its action to improve the minds, morals, and homes of any other class of people than [the Association] has done for the colored people of this State."[54]

In 1866, the Association's second year, gains were even greater. By November, the number of its schools and its student enrollment had doubled. In Baltimore, no new buildings were opened, but the number of Negro children on the city roll books jumped from 1,957 to 2,420; the average attendance from 1,206 to 1,756. In the tidewater and northern counties, the number of school buildings—or classes—almost tripled. Negro school committees or boards of trustees organized in thirty-two new locations. This brought the total number of county schools to fifty and the rural student enrollment to 3,685. In all, in the city and counties, over 6,000 Negroes were now attending classes, in-

[54] *Baltimore American,* November 29, 1865.

cluding some in the Association's newly-opened normal and industrial schools in Baltimore. The number of teachers in the state had climbed from thirty-four to seventy-eight.[55]

Location	Pupils	Date
Cambridge (Dorchester)	143	Nov 1, 1865
Centreville (Queen Anne's)	33	Nov 1, 1865
Uniontown (Carroll)	46	Dec 1, 1865
Royal Oak (Talbot)	69	Dec 1, 1865
Middletown (Frederick)	19	Dec 11, 1865
Perrymansville (Harford)	49	Dec 14, 1865
Chesapeake City (Cecil)	34	Jan 1, 1866
Westminster (Carroll)	59	Jan 1, 1866
Fallston (Harford)	36	Jan 1, 1866
Salisbury (Somerset)	59	Jan 1, 1866
Hagerstown (Washington)	64	Jan 1, 1866
Preston (Caroline)	34	Jan 2, 1866
Burkettsville (Frederick)	39	Jan 15, 1866
Gravel Hill (Harford)	27	Jan 18, 1866
Princess Ann (Somerset)	149	Feb 12, 1866
Mount Pleasant (Frederick)	86	Mar 1, 1866
Little Gunpowder (Baltimore)	19	Mar 1, 1866
Salem (Dorchester)	141	Mar 20, 1866
Cornersville (Dorchester)	56	Mar 20, 1866
Airey's (Dorchester)	81	Mar 20, 1866
Drawbridge (Dorchester)	68	Mar 20, 1866
Liberty (Frederick)	46	Apr 1, 1866
I. U. (Kent)	27	Apr 1, 1866
Newtown (Somerset)	96	Apr 3, 1866
Muirkirk (Prince George's)	70	Apr 12, 1866
Snow Hill (Worcester)	35	Apr 15, 1866
Elkton (Cecil)	118	Apr 15, 1866
Federalsburg (Caroline)	127	May 1, 1866
Little Union (Worcester)	56	May 2, 1866

The number of pupils listed represents the total enrollment. Average attendance was considerably less. In November 1866 the total county enrollment was 3,685. The overall average attendance was 2,684. (These figures and those in the above table are from *Second Annual Report*, pp. 14-16.)

Of the seventy-eight Association teachers in Maryland, thirty-one were white and forty-seven black. The ratio was 20-5 in Baltimore and 11-42 in the counties.

A brighter financial picture in 1866 helped speed this growth. The contribution of white Marylanders not directly connected with the Baltimore Association rose only slightly, but the support of Negroes, Quakers, and the Baltimore city council increased. Maryland's black population raised its contribution to $6,000 in cash, room and board, and supplies. Baltimore

[55] *Second Annual Report of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, November 1866* (Baltimore, 1866), pp. 14-16. The new county schools, their class size, and starting date were as follows:

Quakers donated $1,260, and the city council delivered the remaining $6,000 of its 1865 appropriation.[56]

Even more helpful than in 1865, was the assistance of outside benefactors. Contributions from England fell to $3,800, but the efforts of the northern philanthropic societies more than made up the deficit. The New England Freedmen's Aid Society delivered $4,700 in cash and paid the salaries of thirty-one teachers. The National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York donated close to $1,000 and paid for six teachers. The Friends Association in Philadelphia gave $570 in addition to supporting seven teachers. The Pennsylvania Freedman's Relief Association contributed $2,500.[57]

V

This steady flow of northern dollars in both 1865 and 1866 was anything but fortuitous, for from the start the relationship between Maryland and the northern aid societies was more than simply that of donor and recipient. From its beginning, the Baltimore Association and its officers had played a powerful role in the organization of the entire northern relief effort. Unlike any other society, the Association assumed a dual function. It had a voice in the highest councils of the huge northern relief societies at the same time that its own territory was receiving much of the money. This unique position grew partly from the fact that Maryland was a border state. It had men of strong Union sentiment bent on relief for the freedmen, and it had plenty of freedmen seeking support.[58]

Contributing to the Baltimore Association's unusual position was the indefatigable energy of its officers, especially Judge Hugh Lennox Bond. In northern philanthropic circles Judge Bond became a powerful figure. In February of 1865, he and several other Association officers were instrumental in the formation of the American Freedmen's Aid Union, a loose confederation of the Baltimore Association, the New England

[56] *Second Annual Report,* p. 7. It is difficult to determine how rural Negroes were able to make cash contributions. If the report is correct in saying they did, this money must have come from wages.

[57] *Ibid.,* pp. 7, 14-16.

[58] *American Missionary,* X, no. 5 (May 1865), p. 105; *Freedmen's Record,* I, no. 9 (September 1865), p. 141 and no. 12 (Dec., 1865), pp. 191-192; *National Freedman,* I, no. 8 (Sept. 15, 1865), pp. 274-275; *Baltimore American,* June 14 and October 26, 1865; *First Annual Report,* p. 30.

Freedmen's Aid Society, the National Freedmen's Relief Association, and the Pennsylvania Freedman's Relief Association. Once organized, the Union elected Bond its first president.[59]

In August of 1865, the American Freedmen's Aid Union gave way to a new and larger organization, the American Freedmen's Aid Commission. This group included the four branches of the Union as well as four additional societies, The Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission, the Pittsburgh Association, and the Friends Association in Philadelphia. Here too, Judge Bond and other officers of the Baltimore Association played an important organizing role. Moreover, Bond retained his personal prominence when, later in the year, he was chosen president of the Commisison's Eastern Department.[60]

Neither the Freedmen's Aid Union nor the Freedmen's Aid Commission attempted to control their constituent's individual educational programs. The New England society, for example, continued to supply the South with teachers and funds in its own name. So too did the Pennsylvania and New York associations. The money earmarked for Maryland came not so much from an organization with Judge Bond at its head, but rather from several of its participating or cooperating members. Both the Union and the Commission were concerned simply with the pooling of ideas and resources into a more unified relief program. The Freedmen's Aid Union made this clear in its opening statement of February 1865, when it declared its purpose "To promote a general union and secure greater harmony of action among the friends of the black man; to give unity and added effectiveness to the movement now on foot in his behalf; and to ensure a more judicious and economical expenditure of the means employed for his benefit."[61]

Maryland's Negro schools could not help but benefit from the Baltimore Association's prestigious position in the vanguard of the unified relief movement. By 1866, Bond and his colleagues were in such close alliance with the northern societies that the latter could not and would not think of abandoning their work

[59] *American Missionary,* IX, no. 5 (May 1865), p. 105; *Baltimore American,* June 14, 1865; *First Annual Report,* p. 30.

[60] *Freedmen's Record,* I, no. 9 (Sept. 1865), p. 141 and no. 12 (Dec. 1865), pp. 191-192; *National Freedman,* I, no. 8 (Sept. 15, 1865), pp. 274-275; *Baltimore American,* Oct. 26, 1865; *First Annual Report,* p. 30.

[61] *American Missionary,* IX, no. 5 (May 1865), p. 105.

in Maryland. New England, New York, or Pennsylvania leaders might still control the destination of their financial aid, but their continued cooperation with the Baltimore Association in Union and Commission work led them to maintain their support of Maryland's schools.[62]

The drive towards the unification of all relief societies culminated in January 1866 with the formation of still another and larger organization, the American Freedmen's Union Commission. This new conglomerate brought in such additional groups as the Cleveland Freedmen's Aid Society, the Michigan Freedmen's Aid Society, and the refugee-oriented American Union Commission. Again the Baltimore Association played a key part. Its officers entered wholeheartedly into the new negotiations and quickly won for their organization the position of a full-fledged branch society.[63]

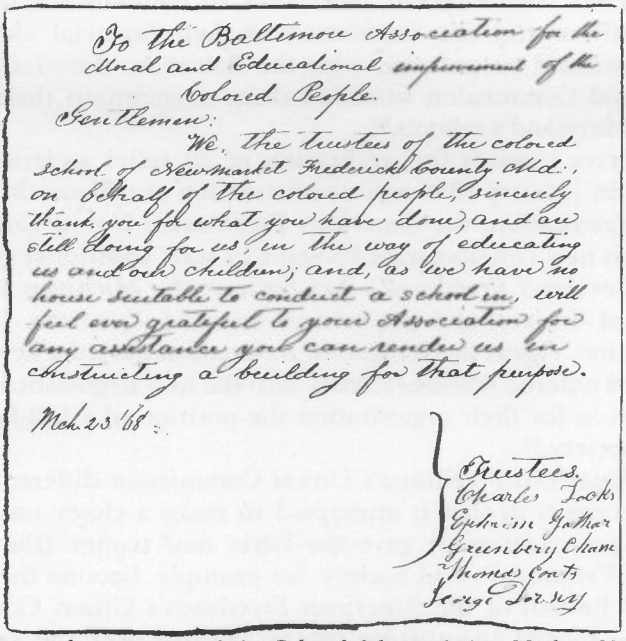
The American Freedmen's Union Commission differed from its predecessors in that it attempted to make a closer union of its member societies. It gave the latter new names (the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, for example, became the New England Branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission) and moved to institute central control over the various Negro educational programs in the South. Some measures effected significant changes. Unified methods certainly lent a degree of sophistication and progress to school organization and teaching. A more centralized fiscal policy gave the Freedmen's Union Commission a degree of financial power much greater than that of the Freedmen's Aid Union or Freedmen's Aid Commission. Even though the branch societies retained their autonomy, they began to hand over a significant number of relief dollars to the central organization.[64]

Through all of these changes, Maryland kept on receiving a good share of the total relief program. Both separately and as a group, the northern branches of the American Freedmen's Union Commission continued their active support of the Baltimore Association's school system. Not only did the New England, New York, and Pennsylvania societies contribute gen-

[62] *Second Annual Report*, p. 7.

[63] *National Freedman*, II, no. 6 (June 1866), p. 165; *American Freedman*, I, no. 1 (April 1866), pp. 1-3.

[64] *American Freedman*, I, no. 3 (June 1866), pp. 34-40; *Third Annual Report of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, Dec. 1867* (Baltimore, 1868), p. 8.



To the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational improvement of the Colored People.

Gentlemen:

We, the trustees of the colored school of Newmarket Frederick County Md., on behalf of the colored people, sincerely thank you for what you have done, and are still doing for us, in the way of educating us and our children; and, as we have no house suitable to conduct a school in, will feel ever grateful to your Association for any assistance you can render us in constructing a building for that purpose.

Mch 23 '68.

Trustees.
Charles Tooks
Ephraim Gaither
Greenbery Chase
Thomas Coats
George Dorsey

Letter from trustees of the Colored School of New Market, 1868. *Maryland Historical Society.*

erously in 1866, but they maintained their support in 1867, when they combined to donate over $10,000 in cash and the salaries of many teachers. In addition, in May of 1866, the Baltimore Association—or Baltimore "branch"—successfully petitioned the Freedmen's Union Commission for another $5,000 to support its new normal school.[65]

VI

The year 1866 not only brought the continuation of a profitable relationship with northern relief societies, but it also marked the beginning of a new "partnership" for the Baltimore Association. It was in that year that the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands began its work in much of tidewater Maryland. Since the summer of 1865, the Bureau had been operating in the southern Maryland counties close to

[65] *Ibid.*

Washington, D.C., but so far it had taken little interest in Negro schools. In 1866, however, with the creation of the new District of Maryland, with headquarters in Baltimore, the Bureau began to tie a keen interest in education to its work in both the new and old territories.[66]

Not until the summer of that year was the Bureau able to inspect its new tidewater counties. By that time, several Association schools had been open for more than a year and many more were about to start. Once in the field, Bureau officers were unanimous in their praise for these schools and were quick to see their benefit for the rural black population. Almost to a man, they recommended that the Bureau should assist both Negroes and the Baltimore Association in whatever way possible. As one officer, Lieutenant Charles McDougall, saw it, education was the "principal means for the regeneration of the colored race."[67]

On July 11, 1866, Rev. John Kimball, Bureau Superintendent of Schools for the District of Columbia and the contiguous counties of southern Maryland, wrote to the Baltimore Association seeking to establish grounds for a cooperative effort. Fielder Israel, Association Actuary, responded with the request for "any aid you can afford us," and stressed especially the need for money and material to build new schoolhouses.[68] Expansion in the rural counties had used most of the available space in churches and private dwellings. Despite its generous financial backing, the Association had to allocate practically all its funds to teachers' salaries and other operating expenses. It was fast approaching the point from which it needed even greater outside help to expand.[69]

[66] Alvord, *Third Semi-Annual Report,* pp. 5, & 7.

[67] Charles McDougall to Baltimore headquarters, May 30, 1866, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner;" George J. Stannard to O. O. Howard, June 5, 1866, RG 105, Md., Book Records, Vol. 3; "Letters Sent, Assistant Commissioner." The officers of the Baltimore Association eagerly sought Bureau support. In fact, they had tried before and failed. In June of 1865 they had, through the auspices of the American Freedmen's Aid Union, met with Commissioner Oliver Otis Howard to discuss "a plan of cooperation between the Freedmen's Aid Associations and the Bureau," but nothing came of it in Maryland for an entire year. It seemed to require the Bureau's expansion over the entire state and the encouragement of its field agents to rekindle the sparks of interest in Washington. (*Baltimore American,* June 14, 1866.)

[68] Fielder Israel to John Kimball, July 11, 1866, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Letters Received, Bladensburg, May 1866 to December 1867."

[69] *Ibid.*

In fact, the Association had been facing a building crisis since the end of 1865, when it first found it impossible to provide the funds necessary for new structures in the tidewater counties. It managed to escape the problem then, when Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton turned over to the Association several empty U.S. Army barracks whose lumber was suitable for dismantling and rebuilding as schoolhouses. As early as February 1866, the Association put some of this material to use in the Annapolis area, and by July of the same year, it had succeeded in putting into the hands of Negro school trustees sufficient lumber for thirty-four small frame buildings.[70]

Once it had exhausted this allotment of military lumber, the Baltimore Association began to seek additional supplies. There were plenty more barracks around, and in Rev. Kimball's July inquiry it saw the chance to tap further this huge government supply of second hand building materials. Furthermore, Association officers hoped that the Bureau would take care of the acquisition and transportation of all lumber allocated to schools in outlying counties.[71]

The Freedmen's Bureau proved willing, and in a short time it was fully involved in the business of erecting schoolhouses. It moved quickly to acquire more lumber and, by the late summer of 1866, had taken over empty buildings at Fort Marshall, Maryland, and Hicks U.S. Army General Hospital in Baltimore.[72] Altogether, this material provided the basic building essentials for over sixty schoolhouses.[73] The Bureau also assumed the greater part of transportation costs, undertaking to get lumber to its destination free of charge to either local Negroes or the Baltimore Association. At the latter's request, the Bureau agreed, as well, to underwrite the rental costs of already-occupied buildings in both Baltimore and the counties

[70] *Baltimore American,* Feb. 28, 1866; J. W. Alvord, *Second Semi-Annual Report on Schools, July 1, 1866* (Washington, 1868), p. 12; Fielder Israel to Edwin M. Stanton, September 28, 1866, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner."

[71] Fielder Israel to John Kimball, July 11, 1866, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Letters Received, Bladensburg, May 1866 to Dec. 1867.

[72] G. W. Bradley to E. M. Gregory, June 27, 1866, RG 105, Md., Book Records, Vol. 1; "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner, April 1, 1866 to August 17, 1868"; Robert Chandler to ? Ketchum, July 14, 1866, RG 105, Md., Book Records, Vol. 3, "Letters Sent, Assistant Commissioner"; R. M. Janney to E. M. Gregory, August 31, 1866, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner"; *Baltimore American,* Oct. 15, 1866.

[73] Baltimore Association Papers; *Baltimore American,* Oct. 15, 1866.

and to pay for the complete renovation of a new Baltimore normal school.[74]

The contribution of the Freedmen's Bureau in dollars and building material constituted a large measure of support to both the Baltimore Association and Maryland's Negro schools. Six months after it had begun its active role, the Baltimore Bureau had spent over $5,000 on lumber and rent for city and county schools. The Hicks Hospital buildings alone cost $3,200 at a government auction, and rentals and repairs for various buildings ran close to $2,000.[75]

But these early connections between the Bureau and the Baltimore Association represented far more than the simple question of lumber and rent. By 1866, Negro education had become a major concern of the Bureau's national headquarters. It began to take a direct interest not only in the construction, but also in the operation and expansion of school facilities. On Maryland's Eastern Shore, Bureau officers had no sooner arrived in the summer of 1866 than they were working with the Association and with Negroes in starting new school boards, buying land, and raising the actual buildings. At the same time, officers in Southern Maryland started to canvass rural neighborhoods in an attempt to encourage support for local schools.[76]

The southern counties, in fact, provided the principal theater of Bureau activity. The Baltimore Association, in its first two years, had not undertaken as vigorous a program here as it had in the city, on the Eastern Shore, or in northern Maryland. The Association had a school in Annapolis, one in Prince George's Coutny at Muirkirk, and one in Montgomery County at Sandy Springs, but this was a small number compared to the size of its

[74] E. M. Gregory to O. O. Howard, November 3, 1866, RG 105, Md., Book Records, Vol. 3, "Letters Sent, Assistant Commissioner;" Frederick Von Shirrach to A. C. Knower, March 31, 1867, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Letters Received, Annapolis;" Baltimore Association Papers, MS. 94.

[75] E. M. Gregory to O. O. Howard, October 13, 1866, RG 105, Md., Book Records: Vol. 3, "Letters Sent, Assistant Commissioner"; J. W. Alvord, *Fourth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, July 1, 1867* (Washington, 1868), p. 4; Frederick Von Shirrach to A. C. Knower, March 31, 1867, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Letters Received, Annapolis."

[76] C. H. Howard to John Kimball, May 31, 1866, Record Group 105, Bureau of Refugees Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, District of Columbia, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Book Records, Vol. 26, "Special Orders and Circulars, Assistant Commissioner" (Hereafter cited as RG 105, D.C.); G. E. Henry to W. H. Rogers, June 4, 1866, RG 105, Md., Book Records, Vol. 50, "Letters Sent, Bladensburg, June 4, 1866 to September 18, 1867."

program on the Eastern Shore.[77] Moreover, by the summer of 1866, there were still no Association schools in Calvert, Charles, or St. Mary's counties.

The Freedmen's Bureau moved in to fill this vacuum. From the summer of 1866 to mid 1868, its officers undertook an educational campaign equal to that of the Baltimore Association in 1865. Because these men worked from district headquarters in Washington, they were not as familiar as their Baltimore counterparts with Association methods, but they accomplished their goals in much the same fashion. Agents and officers in the field toured the several counties speaking to Negro leaders and calling upon black agricultural laborers to organize schools.[78]

The Bureau shied away from the use of churches or private dwellings. It wished, instead, to erect solid schoolhouses upon land permanently designated for that purpose. General Charles H. Howard, District of Columbia Assistant Commissioner for most of this two year period, insisted that Negroes acquire a piece of land with a written deed before receiving further aid. After they had organized a board of trustees and purchased their land, the Bureau would send sufficient material for a school house.[79]

The combination of readily available government lumber, local enthusiasm, and hardworking Bureau agents, led to quick results in southern Maryland. Early in 1867, agents William L. VanDerlip in Anne Arundel, George E. Henry in Prince George's, and R. G. Rutherford in Montgomery counties, reported that Negroes had acquired land in several locations. By the end of the year, over thirty schoolhouses were up, all waiting for teachers.[80]

[77] Even the schools at Muirkirk and Sandy Springs were not Association schools in the pure sense. Each had started independently, and had been taken over by the Association: Sandy Springs in October 1865 and Muirkirk in April 1866. (*Second Annual Report,* pp. 15-16.)

[78] See numerous letters in RG 105, Md., Vol. 50, "Letters Sent, Bladensburg, June 4, 1866 to Sept. 18, 1867," and Vol. 53, "Letters Sent, Rockville, June 5, 1866 to Oct. 2, 1867."

[79] E. C. Knower to J. H. Christ, December 14, 1866, RG 105, Md., Book Records, Vol. 3, "Letters Sent, Assistant Commissioner"; W. L. VanDerlip to Joseph Hall, June 20, 1867, RG 105, Md., Book Records, Vol. 48, "Letters Sent, Annapolis, June 28, 1866 to March 13, 1868"; R. G. Rutherford to Purd ? , July 23, 1867, RG 105, Md., Book Records, Vol. 53, "Letters Sent, Rockville, June 5, 1866 to October 2, 1867."

[80] Baltimore *Sun,* Nov. 23, 1867; *Third Annual Report,* p. 4. There are dozens of letters from VanDerlip; Henry and Rutherford in RG 105, Md. covering purchase of land and the construction of schools. The pertinent book records are

Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, 1814-1869. Photograph by Mathew Brady, ca. 1865. *Library of Congress.*

The very success of the Bureau's program in the southern counties reflected the degree to which its officers had taken over a principal function of the Baltimore Association. By November 1867, the end of the Association's third year, the Freedmen's Bureau had assumed total responsibility for the local organization of Negro schools in both southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore. In financial terms, this assumption represented a significant contribution. The value of the lumber for some schoolhouses ran as high as $600. Records of the Bureau's Baltimore headquarters for early 1868 illustrated the substantial costs involved. The following is a table of some of the proposed schools and their estimated expenses:

Vol. 48, "Letters Sent, Annapolis, June 28, 1866 to March 13, 1868," Vol. 50, "Letters Sent, Bladensburg, June 4, 1866 to Sept. 18, 1867," and Vol. 53, "Letters Sent Rockville, June 5, 1866 to Oct. 2, 1867." The letters of William VanDerlip in Vol. 48 are especially descriptive. In cooperation with Joseph Hall, a white merchant, and John H. Butler, a Negro Bureau agent, VanDerlip was responsible for the construction of more than a dozen Calvert and Anne Arundel County schools in less than a year.

Location	*Date*	*Cost*
Jarrettsville (Harford)	Nov 26, 1867	$450
Princess Ann (Somerset)	Feb 13, 1868	$600
New Market (Frederick)	Mar 23, 1868	$450
Belair (Harford)	no date	$450
Magathy (Ann Arundel)	May 4, 1868	$450
Furnace Church (Ann Arundel)	May 2, 1868	$450
Mt. Pleasant (Frederick)	no date	$500
Chapel (Talbot)	no date	$675[81]

In addition, the Bureau took over an even greater share of rental and repair bills for schools in Baltimore and other locations. When it added its costs here to the value of all the lumber used, its annual financial outlay reached major proportions. In 1867, its first full year of educational work, the Baltimore headquarters spent over $20,000. Its month by month expense account for lumber, rent and maintenance demonstrated the full extent of its work.

Jan	*Feb*	*Mar*	*Apr*	*May*	*Jun*
$908	$119	$385	$7,412	$2,089	$2,680
Jul	*Aug*	*Sep*	*Oct*	*Nov*	*Dec**[82]
$1,360	$6,775	$1,716	$2,189	$6,303	$210

* Includes only December 1 to 13.

The Baltimore Association welcomed the Bureau's ever-widening role. The task of organizing schools in outlying areas had always placed a strain on its limited manpower, and building, rent and repair costs were fast outstripping its financial capacity. With the Freedmen's Bureau so actively involved in preparatory work, the Association could now concentrate on the expenses for teachers' salaries and daily school operations.[83]

On the whole, the two organizations worked well together, each developing its own sphere of interest. The Bureau provided the schools, while the Association provided the teachers and their salaries. The combined operation was basically

[81] Miscellaneous Documents, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Reports."
[82] J. W. Alvord, *Fourth Semi-Annual Report, July 1, 1867*, p. 4; Miscellaneous Documents, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Reports"; Baltimore Association Papers, MS. 94.
[83] *Third Annual Report*, pp. 5-7.

straightforward and most of the time it ran quite smoothly. Between them, the two groups built up a Negro school system which rivalled that of any other state.[84]

There was more to it, however, than size and statistics. In fact, it was in the effort to provide Negroes with something beyond schoolhouses and teachers that the combined force of the Baltimore Association and Freedmen's Bureau achieved its biggest success. In addition to materials and teaching aids, Association and Bureau officers tried to instill in the Negroes the lasting idea that education was their single greatest opportunity, their chance to make something of freedom and to raise themselves or their children to equal terms with whites. Individually, most Negroes were enthusiastic about education, but putting up buildings and filling classrooms was not enough. What the Bureau and Association wanted Negroes to do was to channel personal enthusiasm into real community spirit. They wanted them to pull together in an effort to make education the most powerful social force in rural Maryland. In this movement they saw a real chance of reform.[85]

Much of the Bureau's and Association's success in this direction came at the local level in the activities of black school committees and boards of trustees. In encouraging freedmen to meet together and by showing them how to organize real and operating schools, Bureau and Association officers provided invaluable practical training. Through his work on a school committee, a Negro farm hand learned, perhaps for the first time, the potential strength of community action. When he, together with his fellow laborers, could purchase a piece of land, put up a school house, and obtain a teacher, he saw positive proof that Negroes, when organized, could accomplish social change.

Equally effective, although not so practically oriented, were Bureau and Association public mass meetings. In 1867 and 1868, officers from both organizations, usually together, lectured in Baltimore and many of the rural counties in an effort to stir Negroes to action. This program reached its peak in the spring and summer of 1867, when General Edgar M. Gregory, Bureau Assistant Commissioner in Baltimore, Judge Bond, Fielder Israel, Richard M. Janney, General Charles H. Howard, Rev.

[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*

Kimball, and others addressed black crowds in seventeen locations across the state:

Location	*Date*	*Speakers*
Towsontown (Baltimore Co.)	Jan. 9	Gregory, Bond
Havre de Grace (Harford)	Jan. 24	Gregory, Bond
Annapolis (Anne Arundel)	Feb. 9*	Gregory, Bond
Towsontown (Baltimore Co.)	Apr. 13*	Gregory, Bond
Easton (Talbot)	Apr. 28	Gregory, Graham
Denton (Caroline)	May 19	Gregory
Cambridge (Dorchester)	May 20	Gregory
Cumberland (Allegany)	July 25*	Gregory, Bond
Havre de Grace (Harford)	July 27	Gregory, Bond
Frederick (Frederick)	Aug. 21	Gregory, Bond
Centreville (Queen Anne's)	Aug. 1	Gregory, Bond
Prince Frederick (Calvert)	Aug. 7	Howard, Gregory, Bond, Kimball
Leonardstown (St. Mary's)	Aug. 29	Howard, Bond, Kimball
Baltimore	Aug. 26	Gregory[86]

* date of newspaper report.

The meetings were social, educational, and religious all at once. Speakers played up to the freedman's love of gatherings or group activities. Only since the repeal of the "black code" in 1865 had free Negroes been able to congregate in any number, and now the chance to meet with two or three hundred others to hear of their own education and the promotion of their own general welfare posed an irresistibly exciting attraction. Many meetings drew in the hundreds and some over a thousand.[87] According to one Harford County observer, the July 27 meeting in Havre de Grace attracted between two and three thousand listeners.[88] Speech topics ranged the gamut from suffrage to temperance, but the word on education came through strong and clear. "Our country is becoming a vast school house," declared General Gregory to a church full of Eastern Shore freed-

[86] *Baltimore American,* Jan. 7, 26, Feb. 9, April 13, May 25, 27, July 25, 30, Aug. 1, 3, 5, 6, 24, 27, 29, Sept. 5, 1867; Baltimore *Gazette,* May 1, July 25, Aug. 3, 24, Sept. 7, 1867; *Sun,* July 30, Aug. 3, 6, 10, 27, Sept. 10, 1867; *Frederick Examiner,* Aug. 7, 21, 28, 1867; *Chestertown Transcript,* Aug. 10, 1867.

[87] *Baltimore American,* Aug. 24, Sept. 5, 1867; *Baltimore Gazette,* Sept. 7, 9, 1867; *Sun,* Sept. 10, 1867.

[88] *Baltimore American,* July 30, 1867; *Sun,* July 30, 1867.

men. "Without education, you stand a poor chance in life. In your [future] exercise of the ballot, in your business relations, you will have to combat educated men, and you should prepare yourselves to meet [them]. None should think themselves too old to learn."[89]

VII

The spirited cooperation in 1867 between the Baltimore Association and the Freedmen's Bureau marked the high point of the Association's career. By the summer of that year, it had over eighty schools in operation in Baltimore and the counties. In November, it had fifty new buildings waiting for teachers. This meant 130 schools in all, a significant achievement for only three years' work.[90] During the same period, the Association's annual spending jumped from $17,557 to $76,109.[91]

Nevertheless, by 1867, despite its extraordinary success to this point, the Association's fortunes were beginning to ebb. Its work was never again to be as widespread as in the summer of that year; its annual budget never as large. With the last flush of building and expansion, and the excitement of huge mass meetings still in the air, the Baltimore Association began a gradual curtailment of its activities.

Ironically, a significant victory was one of the reasons for this retreat. On July 10, 1867, the Baltimore city council passed an ordinance calling on the city school commissioners "to proceed at once to establish as many separate schools for the education of colored children, as may, in the judgement of the said [commissioners] be necessary."[92] Finally, after three years of Association agitation, a branch of Maryland's public school system was taking responsibility for the Negro children under its jurisdiction.

Never did the officers of the Baltimore Association consider their function as anything more than temporary. No thought of setting up a long-lived system of private schools ever entered

[89] *Baltimore American*, May 27, 1867. Gregory often spoke two or more hours. Bond's speeches were also long, and many of his themes were obviously above the heads of his listeners.

[90] *Third Annual Report*, pp. 3-4.

[91] *First Annual Report*, p. 8; *Third Annual Report*, p. 8.

[92] *Baltimore American*, June 5, 8, 26, 1867; *Sun*, June 5, 8, 26, 1867; *Baltimore Gazette*, June 6, 1867; *City Council Ordinances, 1866-67*, p. 5; *City Council Proceedings, 1866-67*, pp. 905-6.

General Oliver Otis Howard, Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. 1830-1909. Photograph by Mathew Brady, ca. 1865. *Library of Congress.*

their minds. Throughout the period 1864 to 1868, such men as Bond, Israel, and Janney held to the idea that Negro education should receive full state support. It was only when the legislature and the city council—at first— refused to set up schools that these men felt compelled to act on their own. When the Baltimore city council did finally take over the city schools, they considered part of their goal accomplished. In his annual report in December 1867, corresponding secretary Joseph M. Cushing claimed, "This recognition on the part of the City of the duty of providing free education for all dwelling within its limits, is to us a cause for great congratulation, and we hope speedily to see the State authorities recognize the same principle. . ."[93]

Still in the Association's possession were seventy-three county schools and some fifty empty buildings. Here, however, prob-

[93] *Third Annual Report,* p. 5.

lems were arising at such an alarming rate that their position was soon in jeopardy. In a way it was a good thing that the Association shed itself of city responsibilities, for rural difficulties were soon to tax both its financial and administrative capacities to their utmost limits. Moreover, in 1867, there was no rural "victory" in sight. The state legislature and county public school boards were as far away from supporting Negro education as they had been in 1864.[94]

The Association's most serious problem in the counties lay in a deteriorating financial situation. Although its receipts in 1867 were much higher than those of the previous two years, its responsibilities had grown at an even faster pace. Despite the city council's assumption of the expensive Baltimore schools, the Association's program was in serious straits. In 1867, with both city and county schools, the committee on finance incurred a deficit of nearly $18,000. For 1868, it forecast an additional $23,000 deficit even without the cost of the city schools.[95]

There was little the Baltimore Association could do about its relatively shrinking sources of revenue. Whereas before, the major problem had been the lack of backing at home, it had now become the gradual decline of northern financial support. In December, 1867, Joseph Cushing explained the situation in a few words. Despite the continued generosity of the North that year, "The drain upon [its] resources has been very large and [the] ability of further supplies seems failing."[96] The first wave of philanthropic enthusiasm had passed in the North. Moreover, relief associations were now involved in almost every ex-Confederate state and found it necessary to distribute their money to a greater number of recipients. Northern relief associations continued to send large contributions to Maryland, but they were no longer sufficient to make ends meet. In 1867, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the National Freedmen's Relief Association, and the Friends Association of Philadelphia gave a combined total of over $10,000, but at the same time cut back substantially on their payment of teachers' salaries.[97] In 1867, the Baltimore Association spent $27,404 on the salaries, rents, and expenses of its county schools. In 1868, the finance

[94] Quaker Records.
[95] *Third Annual Report,* pp. 8-9.
[96] *Ibid.,* p. 5.
[97] Baltimore Association Papers.

committee predicted that the same schools along with a few new ones would cost over $40,000. The difference between actual requirements and what northern societies could offer was now so large that it was impossible to cover. Only two things had kept the Association afloat in 1867, its biggest year in school construction: the money and material of the Freedmen's Bureau and a new $20,000 appropriation from the Baltimore city council.[98]

In the end, the Association's inability to meet the rising cost of teachers' salaries meant that many school buildings remained empty. As events turned out, the Freedmen's Bureau had based its construction efforts on a gross overestimation of the Association's capacity to supply the necessary instructors. In early 1867, the fifty new schoolhouses were signs of progress, but by 1868, they were fast becoming symbols of failure.[99] The Association, doubling its canvassing efforts, tried its best to cope with the problem, but still the situation worsened. Failing all other means, it then turned at last to its most consistent supporters over the years, the Negroes. In a crash campaign to bolster their sagging resources, Association officers instituted a twelve, and then fifteen, dollar per month education "tax" on each rural school. The black community responded well, but in the long run, these new funds were not enough.[100]

Early in 1868, the Baltimore Association came close to folding. Its financial burdens were almost too heavy to withstand. On March 21, 1868, Association president William J. Albert described this plight in a letter (marked "confidential and not for publication") to the secretary of the American Freedmen's Union Commission:

> The colored people are not yet in a position to stand alone. They still require our care, direction and encouragement. Left to themselves, they will encounter unnumerable difficulties . . . and for a long period they could make no progress. Under these circumstances the thought of laying down our work is almost distract-

[98] *City Council Proceedings, 1866-67,* pp. 227, 229-31; *City Council Ordinances, 1866-67,* p. 105; *Baltimore American,* Jan. 23, 1867; *Sun,* Jan. 23, 1867; *Freedmen's Record,* III, no. 3 (March 1867), p. 37; *Nation,* February 14, 1867.

[99] *Baltimore American,* March 27, 1867; Frederick Von Shirrach to E. C. Knower, March 31, 1867, RG 105, Md., Box Records, "Letters Received, Annapolis"; Quaker Records; *Third Annual Report,* p. 4; Baltimore Association Papers.

[100] Baltimore Association Papers; *Third Annual Report,* p. 8; *Baltimore American,* Dec. 27, 1867.

ing. . . . Yet at the last meeting of the Board of Managers the almost unanimous judgement was that it must be done. . . . The members feel discouraged. They cannot increase a debt they feel morally responsible for, and see no means of paying.[101]

The Baltimore Association, however, did not, at that stage, stop its work. Through the continued efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau, the growing contributions of black Marylanders and its own determination to tighten its belt, the Association managed to survive until 1870. The Bureau's contributions were perhaps most important. Gradually, it assumed direct and complete control over a majority of the state's rural Negro schools. Concentrating its efforts especially in southern Maryland, the Bureau took over empty school buildings and supplied the necessary teachers. The Association was then free to confine its attention to its normal school in Baltimore and to the sixty or seventy schools that had been under its jurisdiction since early 1867. Negro education was still very much alive in 1868 and 1869, but its growth was now in the hands of the federal government. By the end of 1868, the Bureau had twenty schools and 500 pupils under its wing. By 1869, it had expanded its work to eighty-two schools and 4,000 students.[102]

The Baltimore Association finally closed its labors in June of 1870. Richard M. Janney said, later, that it had done so "believing that the time had fully come to throw the responsibility of the Education of the Colored People upon the authorities of the State where it properly belongs." There was, however, more to it than that. The Association had petitioned the legislature for assistance every year of its operation but had got nothing in return. Furthermore, state lawmakers were not to meet again until 1872.[103] The officers of the Association knew only too well that the General Assembly was not going to help. The real cause of their folding lay in the Association's inability to carry on. "This course was indeed a necessity," admitted Janney, "from the fact that no further pecuniary aid could be had . . . and the receipts from [all] sources had been greatly curtailed."[104]

Thus the Baltimore Association had to stop its work before reaching its major goal. Instead of winning state support for its

[101] Baltimore Association Papers.
[102] Quaker Records.
[103] *Ibid.*
[104] *Ibid.*

more than sixty remaining schools, it had to turn them loose to make their way alone as best they could. But despite failure and frustration, the Association's work had not been in vain. Its officers had accomplished perhaps more than they knew. The organization's very existence for nearly six years went a long way to dispel white Marylanders' doubts and fears over educating black children. The friend with reservations soon saw that Negroes were capable not only of learning, but also of putting their schooling to work for their own social and economic betterment. The enemy who feared that Negro education would precipitate some kind of rural revolution and rob him of his much needed labor eventually realized that his fears had been groundless. If anything, a neighborhood school tied black farm laborers even closer to the agricultural community.[105]

Furthermore, the work of the Baltimore Association and Freedmen's Bureau in setting up an efficient network of Negro schools made it far easier for the city and state to move in. The schools' success demonstrated the technical feasibility of a public supported system, and the presence of the buildings made such a decision so much easier. The city of Baltimore would not for a long time have assumed responsibility for educating its black children had it not been for the preparatory work of the Baltimore Association.

Finally, and most important of all, the Association had trained Negroes to make the most of their will to carry on. Not all schools functioned smoothly in late 1870 or after, but two or three in almost every county did. Working together, Negroes in various rural communities maintained their boards of trustees, their school buildings, and their teachers. Over all, it was hardly a school "system," but it was sufficient to keep the spirit of education alive until the state and counties stepped in to help.[106]

[105] J. W. Alvord, *Fourth Semi-Annual Report, July 1, 1867*, p. 9.
[106] Quaker Records.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SETTLEMENT OF 1691 IN MARYLAND

By Richard A. Gleissner

The establishment of royal government in Maryland in 1691 was part of a compromise worked out by William III and Charles Calvert, third Baron Baltimore. By means of this bargain William accomplished what his predecessor had been unable to achieve by coercion: the extension of Crown authority in a key dependency and the more effective integration of the colony into the mercantile framework of the empire.[1] For his part Calvert surrendered the provincial government but received the Crown's guarantee and protection of his soil rights and certain fiscal prerogatives. Thereby, a mutually satisfactory solution to the problems arising from the Maryland revolution of 1689 was reached which acknowledged the king's immediate political interest in Maryland without doing substantive injury to the charter. Yet the compromise resulted only after a bitter struggle between Calvert and the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations and reflected how slightly the accession of William and Mary had altered the mood and objectives of the Committee from what they had been under James II.

Though Protestant planters overthrew the proprietary regime in late summer of 1689 and begged William to give them a royal governor, had circumstances in Europe been otherwise he would probably have restored Baltimore. Despite the long standing antipathy of the Lords of Trade for feudal grants like Calvert's, the Dutch-born monarch cared little about types of colonial gov-

[1] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vol.; New Haven, 1938), IV, pp. 137-39, 145-51. Wesley F. Craven, *The Colonies in Transition, 1660-1713* (New York, 1968), pp. 254-62. This presupposes that prior to 1691 Maryland did not willingly play a role in the commercial life of the empire, a subject beyond the scope of this paper. The extent of the colony's particularist ambitions and the consequences may be found in Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (3 vol.; Gloucester, 1957). By way of comparison Margaret S. Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715* (Baltimore, 1914), p. 133, says that during the royal period "the conclusion has been reached that . . . on the whole the English authorities were so zealous that breaches of the Navigation Acts, and apparently also of the several colonial acts, were comparatively rare."

ernment or their relationship to the Crown.[2] But war with France which broke out in 1689 quickly focused his attention on the colonies in general and Maryland in particular.

Initially the war went badly for England. Lacking competent leadership, the combined English and Dutch fleets inadequately defended European waters; indeed, in the early weeks of the war the French gained temporary mastery of the channel which allowed James II to land in Ireland and to tie up the English army for almost a year. Worse yet, in June 1690 after losing an engagement off Beachy Head the fleets retired up the Thames, thereby exposing the lines of communication and commerce between England and the colonies to harassment by French privateers. Estimates of merchant ships captured or destroyed during the first three years of the war ran as high as 3000; the customs revenue lost was incalculable.[3] By itself the vulnerability of colonial trade was sufficient to worry William, but especially as the costs of the conflict mounted and revenue from trade fell off.[4] The internal weakness of Maryland added to his concern because the province practically invited a French attack. If that happened and it fell, the northern and southern tiers of colonies would be split and the enemy would possess a valuable base of operations from which he could sweep English commerce from the western Atlantic and Caribbean. That the French did not have ample military or naval strength for such an attack was unknown to William; their early successes contributed to English fears and made the possible appear probable and the probable seem imminent.

In the months that followed the Protestant *coup* the Chesapeake colony hovered on the brink of civil war. The Associators, as the revolutionists styled themselves, carried out repres-

[2] W. H. Brown, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (73 vol.; Baltimore, 1883—), VIII, pp. 99-101. Hereafter cited as *Archives*. J. W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1736* (35 vol.; Vaduz, 1964), p. 13, Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Baltimore, April 19, 1689, 23; Order of King in Council, May 2, 1689, 34; Journal of Lords of Trade, May 16, 1689, 39; Lords of Trade to King, May 16, 1689, 39; Minutes of Lords of Trade, May 25, 1689, 44. Hereafter cited as *CSP (Col)*. Stephen B. Baxter, *William III and the Defense of European Liberty, 1650-1702* (New York, 1966), p. 267.

[3] John B. Wolf, *The Emergence of the Great Powers, 1685-1715*, (New York, 1951), pp. 44-46. Michael G. Hall, *Edward Randolph and the American Colonies, 1647-1703* (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 155-57.

[4] *CSP (Col)*, 13, Petition of Several Merchants, Nov. 21, 1689, 579. The merchants estimated that recent capture of eleven vessels alone cost the Crown between £5,000 and £10,000 per ship.

William III. Artist unknown. *Library of Congress.*

sive measures against Catholics and members of Baltimore's party. All were thrown out of office and disfranchised; many were jailed as well on false charges.[5] The Associators justified their actions by accusing their victims of murdering a prominent revolutionist who was also royal collector of customs and of plotting with the French and Indians to exterminate all Protestants. The strident correspondence of the Associators and the appeals of those recently fallen from power left London in small doubt

[5] *Archives,* VIII, pp. 114-15, 118-21, 126-27, 147-49, 163-64, 170-72; XII, pp. 233-34, 240. *CSP (Col),* 13, Richard Hill to Capt. John Brown, June 1,1690, 276.

about Maryland's condition. It was necessary, therefore, for the Crown to restore order quickly if the French were to be forestalled.[6]

The most effortless way was the one proposed by the revolutionists, that is by the appointment of a governor and council by the King. In his name and under his direction royal government could unite those settlers said to be "rageingly earnest" in their devotion to William and Mary.[7] Courts would reopen and deal with traitors and malcontents; elections for the assembly would be held and defense appropriations voted. Yet if William chose this course he must first deal with the proprietary letters patent. There lay the source of all future difficulties. Because the delegation of palatine powers by the charter of 1632 made the proprietor almost totally independent and was not susceptible to broad interpretation in the Crown's favor; and since it combined political with soil rights so skillfully that to tamper with one automatically subverted the other, William had to nullify the entire grant before erecting royal government. If he did not, Calvert could bring suit for recovery of his rights and estate and would doubtless win a court battle. To vacate the charter the Crown possessed the writs of *quo warranto* and *scire facias;* but the former had failed to void the charter in 1685 when James II had tried and the latter required much time.[8] On its face, therefore, as a way of quieting Maryland the appointment of a governor and council had little to recommend it; but some in England refused to admit as much.

The Lords Committee of Trade and Plantations minimized the obstacles posed by the patent.[9] The assertive particularism

[6] *Archives,* VIII, pp. 127-28, 168-69, 176-77, 186-87.

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 112, 137-46. The phrase was employed by Nicholas Spencer, Virginia's secretary, before the anti-proprietary *coup.* He wrote the Lords of Trade that the "inhabitants of Maryland, mostly Protestants . . . [were] rageingly earnest for proclaiming King William and Queen Mary." *CSP (Col),* 13, Spencer to William Blathwayt, June 10, 1689, 66.

[8] W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council Colonial Series* (2 vol.; Nendeln, 1966), II, p. 88. Hereafter cited as *Acts PC.* For the problems arising from the use of the writs in the case of Massachusetts-Bay see Andrews, *Colonial Period,* IV, 142, 150. Craven, *Colonies in Transition,* pp. 173, 217. Hall, *Edward Randolph,* pp. 44-45, 79-83, 88.

[9] As early as April 1689 the Committee expressed concern about the vulnerability of the proprietary colonies. It urged the king "to give such directions as may better secure their Majestys' interest in those parts and put them into a condition of defense against the enemy." *Archives,* VIII, 100-101. Without discussing in any way the pertinent charters the Committee also urged the king to lay the whole matter of proprietary governments before Parliament. The pur-

of the proprietary regime in the past, coupled with Calvert's religion and his demonstrative devotion to James on the eve of the Glorious Revolution, made the proprietor unpopular with the Committee.[10] In line with the King's purpose to subordinate all other considerations at home and in the colonies to the war effort, it steadfastly rejected the idea of Calvert's restoration. In December 1689 the Committee recommended a temporary expedient. It urged the king to empower the Associators "to continue the administration of the government for the present." Meanwhile, the Attorney General should search the charter for a clause or word that might permit the immediate establishment of royal government. So confident was the Committee that a loophole could be found that it expected to have a governor sailing for Maryland with the spring tobacco convoy.[11]

William agreed to write to the Associators, but in doing so he went beyond a simple mandate to carry on the government. In a letter dated February 1, 1690 he directed them to preserve "the peace and properties of our subject, according to the laws and usage of that our province until upon a full examination of all matters and hearing of what shall be represented to us on the behalf of the proprietor and his right." In addition, he ordered the Associators to allow the proprietor "or his agent to collect the revenues . . . and that such part only of the said revenue be applied . . . for the support of the government as hath usually been allowed and applied by the proprietor to that purpose."[12] By ordering the Associators to keep hands off the revenues William side-stepped, for the time being, the question of what constituted Baltimore's personal estate and what belonged by provincial law to the government. Had he not done so and the provisional regime seized all sources of income, including the quit rents, Baltimore would doubtless have appealed immediately to the courts. At all costs the Crown had to prevent that; once the matter of proprietary fiscal prerogatives was raised in

pose in doing so is obscure and nothing ever came of it with respect to Maryland. *CSP (Col),* 13, Journal of the Lords of Trade, May 16, 1689, 39; Minute of the Lords of Trade, May 25, 1689, 44.

[10] *CSP (Col),* 11, Journal of the Lords of Trade, Dec. 10, 1681, 151; Journal of the Lords of Trade, Dec. 13, 1681, 157; Journal of the Lords of Trade, Feb. 7, 1682, 193. *Archives,* VIII, 40, 44. Andrews, IV, 272-73.

[11] *CSP (Col),* 13, Journal of the Lords of Trade, Dec. 28, 1689, 196; Minutes of the Lords of Trade, Jan. 7, 1960, 203. *Archives,* VIII, p. 162.

[12] *Archives,* VIII, pp. 167-68.

court, it would be easy enough for Baltimore to show the connection between them and political authority according to the charter and to demand full restoration.

The proprietor hurried back and forth between the Lords of Trade and the Privy Council during December and early January. He was accompanied by witnesses able to testify to the good conduct of his administration and to the need for his restoration so "that law and justice . . . may again have their due course to the general good of his Majesty's subjects" in the province.[13] No one paid attention to him. Calvert realized, however, that if he was ever to recover Maryland he must behave differently than he had in the past when he had openly referred to the trade and navigation system as "the greatest obstruction to trade." While he did not subscribe to Lord Culpeper's analysis made in 1681 about his "political maxims" being "unsuited to this age," he did admit to the need for new tactics.[14] Such recognition on his part was implicit in his references to Marylanders as being "his Majesty's subjects," words he never used prior to the *coup*. In fact by early 1690 Calvert was more than willing to accommodate the Crown. In the middle of January he submitted a proposal to the Lords of Trade outlining a tentative settlement. First, all proprietary officers "shall be removed for the satisfaction of his Majesty." Second, he would commission as deputy governor a prominent Anglican and "such other persons that are professed Protestants and men of good repute, credit and estate . . . to be the council." Third, he would not prosecute or molest the revolutionists "if his Majesty forbid." Fourth, he promised to remain in England "as a pledge . . . that his Majesty's commands and orders herein shall be most faithfully and punctually obeyed."[15] Thus Baltimore hoped to govern the colony under certain self-imposed restraints. To convince the King of the plan's practicability, he subtly played on the need for haste and the fear of an enemy attack on Maryland. Proprietary officers would "faithfully and punctually" obey commands, whereas, he hinted, the revolutionists having

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-63, 165. Actually, as reconstituted by William in 1689, the Lords of Trade was the Privy Council sitting as committee of the whole. Andrews, IV, p. 274. The shuffling of appointments by which Calvert was referred from one to the other had the same effect.

[14] *CSP (Col)*, 10, Lord Baltimore to the Lords of Trade, March 26, 1678, 226-27; 11, Lord Culpeper to the Lords of Trade, Dec. 12, 1681, 155.

[15] *Archives*, VIII, pp. 165-66.

tasted power and independence might not be as acquiescent. Indeed, within a few months evidence came to light of the Associators reluctance to concede anything more than verbal obedience to the Crown's orders.[16]

Confident that the charter could be by-passed or vacated entirely the Lords Committee rejected Calvert's proposal out of hand. When Attorney General Sir George Treby failed to uncover clear justification in the charter for the appointment of a governor, it passed the problem to Lord Chief Justice Henry Holt. The latter studied the matter through the spring and not until early June, long after the tobacco convoy left England without the governor the Committee hoped to have on board, did he report to the Privy Council. Writing to the president of the Council, he cautioned the government against immoderate acts. He especially criticized the Lords of Trade for pursuing Baltimore's prerogatives without regard for the consequences. "I think," he wrote, it would have been better if an inquisition had been taken and the forfeitures committed by Lord Baltimore had been found before any grant were made to a new governor." On the other hand he thought that military considerations offered a way out of the dilemma. "In case of necessity," he said "I think the King may lawfully commission a governor whose authority would be legal."[17] Since this in no way would eliminate Baltimore's fiscal prerogatives, certain of which would be needed for the support of royal government, the Chief Justice recommended that the governor and proprietor enter into a voluntary agreement for sharing the profits of the colony. Holt's memorandum was a good deal more circumspect than the Lords of Trade liked. But the Chief Justice chose his words with deliberate care so as not to give the Committee cause for ill-conceived action. If the Committee moved with undue speed the danger of a proprietary suit increased and Holt as Chief Justice would have to sit in judgement. In part exactly that happened.

Fortified with Holt's opinion, though ignoring its rationale, the Lords of Trade rushed to complete the political transforma-

[16] *CSP (Col)*, 13, Francis Nicholson to the Lords of Trade, August 20, 1690, 308; Petition of Lord Baltimore to the King, Nov. 22, 1690, 349-50.

[17] *Ibid.*, Lord Chief Justice Holt to the Earl of Carmarthen, June 3, 1690, 277. Andrews, II, 375-76 says Baltimore drafted a commission for Copley about this time which Treby rejected. There is no evidence of this, however.

Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore. 1630-1715. By Sir Godrey Kneller (1646-1723). Painting in the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

tion of Maryland. The King already in June 1690 had designated Colonel Lionel Copley to be governor once the way was clear. The Committee now prepared his commission but without first trying to prove forfeiture of the charter as suggested by Holt.[18] In justice to the Committee part of the blame for the impending debacle rested with Copley himself, for the latter was a shrewd, calculating man.

When Copley learned that his commission was in preparation he demanded that it "be as full as those of other governors and . . . be during the lives of the King and Queen, revocable only by one or the other." He required, he said, half the revenue from the duty of two pence per hogshead of tobacco exported by Maryland, a tariff enacted years before by the legislature for the personal use of the proprietor, though Baltimore applied half the income from it to governmental expenses. He also wanted half of the income from the quit rents, one of Baltimore's houses to live in, and the perquisites customarily received by the governor of Virginia.[19] To say the least Copley planned to make his fortune in the plantations. For their part the Lords of Trade did not scruple to give away what belonged to Charles Calvert. What is more, having included most of Copley's demands in the commission, the Committee expected Calvert to sign the document.

Instead of justifying the appointment of Copley as "a case of necessity" in accordance with Holt's opinion, the Committee prepared the commission as though coming from Baltimore's pen. In substance the document amounted to an abdication of proprietary rights; according to the Committee's logic, Baltimore would sign it and all obstacles heretofore encountered in the establishment of royal government would disappear.[20] The draft then went to Treby and the Committee requested his evaluation of it. But Treby washed his hands of the matter. Apparently he had recently composed a draft of his own which

[18] *Ibid.*, Memorandum by Colonel Copley, June 1690, 291. Osgood, III, 503, says "There is no indication that at any time the English authorities undertook seriously to investigate the justice of Baltimore's case." The same may be said for the Committee's failure to prove its own case against the proprietary government.

[19] *Archives,* VIII, 200. Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage, Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953), 119 says that Copley obtained the nomination from the king because of his assistance in the Glorious Revolution. Copley was instrumental in securing the port of Hull for William.

[20] *Archives,* VIII, pp. 200-203. *CSP (Col),* 13, Order of the Privy Council, Oct. 9, 1690, 326.

the Lords of Trade considered inadequate. He referred to his version as a "general commission reciting the causes [for Copley's appointment] and constituting a governor according to the laws of the colony." He told the Committee that he understood the importance of the Crown's intervention as the only means of protecting the colony but, he said, "the nature of the seizure is only to take the government out of the hands that neglected and endangered it . . . [while] the laws and customs and the properties of the inhabitants are to be preserved as far as may be." He said he saw no reason to depart from his own draft "or to recommend this present draft . . . not knowing that the particulars herein contained are agreeable to the settled orders of government there or absolutely necessary for the preservation of the province.[21] Abandoning Holt and abandoned by Treby, the Lords of Trade nevertheless went ahead still confident they could compel Baltimore to sign away his patent rights.

Meantime, the delay in the establishment of royal government caused growing apprehension in Maryland. The provisional government worried lest the king turn back the province to Calvert. In his letter of February 1, William promised nothing more than a "settlement as shall most conduce to our service and to the security and satisfaction of our subjects." But this could mean anything; that the proprietor would be restored fully; that he would be restored under certain conditions; or that he was displaced once and for all. In addition the letter made reference to an examination "of all matter and hearings of what shall be represented to us on the behalf of the proprietor and his right." If so inclined, the reader might interpret that to the disadvantage of the revolutionists' cause. Indeed, during 1690 the Associators became convinced they were about to be sold out. This conviction was reflected in their appointment of a delegation to go to London and to lay before the Crown certain "Articles against Lord Baltimore, his Deputies, Judges and Ministers employed by him in the Government of this province." Consisting of over fifty indictments of wrongdoing, their purpose was to defeat any proprietary restoration and to bring the province under the "immediate paternal princely care" of William III.[22]

[21] *CSP (Col),* 13, Report of Attorney General, August 22, 1690, 310. Andrews, *Colonial Period* II, pp. 374-76.

[22] *Archives,* VIII, pp. 168-69, 170-72, 178-79, 193-95, 215-20.

The arrival of the Associators' delegation in England coincided with the preparation of Copley's commission. It coincided as well with the Crown's receipt of a petition from Baltimore. The proprietor complained that despite the directions contained in the King's letter of February 1 "that my agents should collect the revenue," the Associators had not permitted it. He begged "that these men may be summoned to answer for the injuries that they have done me." William agreed. He ordered all parties to attend the Lords of Trade "to make our their respective allegations against each other."[23]

From late November 1690 until January 1691 charges and counter charges filled the air in the Committee's chambers. But while the Maryland delegation declaimed about proprietary malfeasance and nonfeasance, Calvert argued about the financial obligations of the revolutionary regime. By refusing to defend his administration or demand restoration, he once more showed a willingness to negotiate a settlement with the Crown. Yet unlike his earlier offer to entrust the colony to Protestants of good estate, he now was seemingly inclined to accept a great deal less. In fact his behavior during the investigation clearly marked his retreat. The emphasis he placed on his fiscal prerogatives—and his refusal to even mention political rights—insinuated that he wanted to trade political power for a guarantee of his various sources of income. Either the Lords of Trade misunderstood or, as in January, chose to ignore the proprietor's compromise offer, for throughout the hearings they continued with the preparation of Copley's credentials.[24]

On January 3, 1691 Calvert finally received the commission which the Lords of Trade expected him to sign. The Committee referred it to him for "his objections . . . if any."[25] At once he submitted a vigorous protest. He found "contained therein," in replying by letter, "several clauses very prejudicial and utterly destructive of the rights, powers and privileges" granted by the charter. Among others he cited the provision

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 212-13, 225-28. *CSP (Col)*, 13, Francis Nicholson to Lords of Trade, Aug. 20, 1690, 308; Order of King in Council, Nov. 20, 1690, 348; Journal of Lords of Trade, Nov. 22, 1690, 349; Petition of Lord Baltimore to the King, Nov. 22, 1690, 349-50; Order of King in Council, Nov. 30, 1690, 366; Journal of Lords of Trade, Dec. 5, 1690, 367; Answer to the Address of Protestant Inhabitants of Maryland, Dec. 22, 1690, 374. Acts PC, II, p. 180.

[24] *CSP (Col)*, 13, Journal of the Lords of Trade, Dec. 22, 1690, 373; Order of the King in Council, Jan. 1, 1691, 375-76.

[25] *Ibid.*, Minute of the Lords of Trade, Jan. 3, 1691, 376.

making Copley governor "with the approbation and by the special nomination and appointment of the King and Queen's most excellent majesties," to hold office "for and during their . . . pleasures (and not otherwise) and in such manner and according to such rules, powers, limitations and instructions as are hereinafter expressed or as shall be in that behalf given or signified unto him from time to time by their majesties." He objected, too, to the clause that made all enactments of the assembly and governor lawful "until the said Charles Baron Baltimore with and by the especial allowance of the King and Queen's most excellent majesties . . . declare and publish . . . within the said province his particular dissent or disagreement to the same." Because of these defects, Calvert wrote, "as also several other things," he must refuse to sign the commission. Furthermore, he withdrew his compromise offer of January 1690 and hoped that "their majesties and their lordships will not take it ill that he now insists upon the right and powers of his patent which does sufficiently enable him to nominate and depute whom . . . [he] shall think fit for the government of his province."[26] Thus Calvert exploded the delusion entertained by the Lords of Trade for more than a year that they could intimidate him and force him to acquiesce in any settlement they contrived. Hereafter, he had informed them, he would behave as though the Protestant revolution had never occurred.

William III. From *A History of the American People* by Woodrow Wilson. *Maryland Historical Society.*

[26] *Archives,* VIII, 230-31. He did indicate that he "still resolved for their majesties' satisfaction at this juncture to appoint a Protestant of unquestionable credit for governor, as likewise Protestants . . . to be of the council."

In view of his tactics in the recent hearings before the Lords of Trade as well as the obvious impossibility of imposing his will on the colony as long as the Associators held the reins of power, Calvert's intention to act in his own right was plainly a form of blackmail. The threat, however, served very well as a means of neutralizing the Committee and attracting the king's attention. Until January 1691 William had not interfered in the Committee's management of the Maryland question. Now that it suddenly lost the initiative and Baltimore took the offensive he stepped in. On the same day that the proprietor affirmed his exclusive right to appoint a governor the King stripped the Lords of Trade of responsibility for writing the commission and directed Treby and Holt to "settle the draft."[27] Within a week they did so.

Although there is no record of meetings among Treby, Holt and Calvert, such surely occurred. The settlement found expression in Copley's credentials as well as other documents bearing the King's signature. The commission began with a prefatory statement of the reasons for the Crown's intervention in Maryland's affairs. It noted that the colony "is fallen into disorder and confusion, by means whereof not only the public peace and administration of justice . . . is broken and violated, but also there is an utter want of provision for the guard and defence of the said country against our enemies, and thereby the same is exposed and like to be lost from the Crown of England." Hence, because "our good subjects . . . cannot be defended and secured by any other means than by our taking the government thereof into our hands," William appointed Copley governor. Nowhere in the succeeding thirty-three paragraphs was Baltimore mentioned; on its face the document was similar to others constituting the executives of all royal provinces.[28] Copley's instructions, however, guaranteed Calvert's income. The governor had to permit proprietary agents to collect half of the impost of two shillings per hogshead of tobacco exported, together with the tonnage tax of fourteen shillings charged to all ships trading with Maryland. These dues were for Baltimore's personal use "as

[27] *CSP (Col)*, 13, Order of King in Council, Jan. 15, 1691, 378.

[28] *Ibid.*, Draft Commission to Copley, Jan. 21, 1691, p. 380; Order of the Privy Council, Jan. 29, 1691, p. 383; Order of the King in Council, Feb. 12, 1691, p. 387.

proprietary of our said province."[29] That the commission did not mention other proprietary properties, the house that Copley wanted for his own use, half the quit rents and other perquisites enjoyed by the governor of Virginia, did not mean either that Calvert surrendered them or that the Crown by unilateral act took possession. Instead, silence upheld Calvert's ownership and implied no commitment on his part.

In addition to the commission and instructions, the compromise was further amplified and buttressed in a series of reports and orders drawn up by various Crown agencies during the next two years.[30] One of these was a study of revenues collected by the Associators from 1689 to 1690 arising out of the tonnage tax and tariff on tobacco exports. Since the arrival of the Associators' delegation in October 1690, Baltimore complained that these "ringleaders of the disturbers of the . . . government in Maryland, and who have got the greatest part of his revenue into their hands . . . are there embezzling and spending the same."[31] During most of 1691 the problem of disposing of these funds was under consideration by the Lords of Trade and the Board of Customs Commissioners. Whether an aversion to turning them over to Baltimore delayed payment or because of bureaucratic inefficiency, the proprietor only received the revenues near the end of the year.[32] They too represented part of his personal estate and totalled upwards of £2000. In a related matter, following the complaints of the proprietor that his agents "are by their confinement disabled from acting for him according to the power sent them," and that many ships' masters entered and cleared port in Maryland without paying the tonnage tax, the King directed that appropriate orders be given to halt the practice.[33] Finally, in 1692 after Copley arrived in

[29] *Archives,* VIII, pp. 263-70 for the text of the commission; 271-83 for the instructions. The latter was approved by the Privy Council in August, *CSP (Col),* p. 13, Order of Privy Council, Aug. 26, 1691, p. 526. William A. Shaw, ed., *Calendar of Treasury Books* (27 vol.; London, 1904-57), IX, pt. 3, p. 1431. Hereafter cited as *Cal.TB.*

[30] *CSP (Col),* 13, Journal of the Lords of Trade, Feb. 23, 1691, p. 391; Report of the Lords of Trade, Feb. 23, 1691, 391-92. *Archives,* VIII, pp. 233-34, 235-36.

[31] *Acts PC,* II, 179-80, 187. Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (4 vol.; New York, 1930), I, 355-57 for a summary of the revenue division growing out of the compromise.

[32] *CSP (Col),* 13, William Blathwayt to John Coode and Kenelm Cheseldyn, Mar. 19, 1691, 396. *Acts PC,* II, 186-87. *Cal.TB,* IX, pt. 3, 1081-82. For a breakdown of the accounts, *Ibid.,* 1082-85.

[33] *Acts PC,* II, 187. *CSP (Col),* 13, Order of the Privy Council, Oct. 12, 1691, 552; Order of the King in Council, Nov. 2, 1691, 563; Petition of Lord Balti-

Maryland, the legislature, still dominated by the Associators, launched an assault on Baltimore's residual prerogatives.[34] Copley defended the attack in a letter to the King saying that "it is morally impossible for anyone in my situation to serve the King without calling forth complaints from Lord Baltimore." He added: "This province will never be happy till my Lord Baltimore's interest be bought out by his Majesty, for while his interest continues his party will be considerable and on all occasions will be able to disturb the public peace and quiet . . . whereas if this province were entire in his Majesty it would soon people the country and become as flourishing a province as any."[35] In this as in other instances the Crown picked its way carefully through the claims of the proprietor and the counter claims of the royal government. In the end Baltimore's property remained inviolate and the compromise reaffirmed by William.[36]

The bargain agreed to in 1691 by the King and the proprietor remained in affect until 1715. Occasioned by military necessity, the intransigence of the Associators and the Lords of Trade along with the iron-clad provisions of the charter made any other solution impractical. With the victory of the English fleet at La Hogue in 1692 as yet unforeseen and the expectation of a French invasion from the north creating growing restlessness in New York, William made the best of an uncertain situation.[37] Had Charles Calvert insisted on full and prompt restoration of his political powers there is no way of knowing what the Crown might have done or felt itself compelled to do. Perhaps what he considered to be a military necessity might have led William to take unilateral steps to nullify proprietary authority and, thereby, involve the Crown in an unprecendented subversion of property rights. But the moderation of the principal parties to the compromise rendered that unnecessary.

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more to the Lords of Trade, Dec. 5, 1691, 573; Petition of Lord Baltimore to the King, Dec. 10, 1691, 574.

[34] *Archives,* VIII, pp. 309, 311, 312-13; XIII, pp. 251-52, 312-14, 319-20, 369, 386, 392-93, 395, 442-44.

[35] *Ibid.,* VIII, pp. 356-59. *CSP (Col),* p. 13, Representations of the Assembly of Maryland to the King, n.d., pp. 702-3.

[36] *CSP (Col),* p. 13, Petition of Lord Baltimore to the King, Feb. 9, 1693, p. 598. *Acts PC,* III, pp. 246-50. *Archives,* XX, pp. 23-27.

[37] *CSP (Col),* p. 13, Minutes of the Council of New York, June 29, 1691, p. 478; Committee of Maryland to Governor Slaughter, July 10, 1691, p. 502; Circular Letter from the Governor of New York, July 11, 1691, p. 503; Journal of the Lords of Trade, Aug. 20, 1691, p. 525.

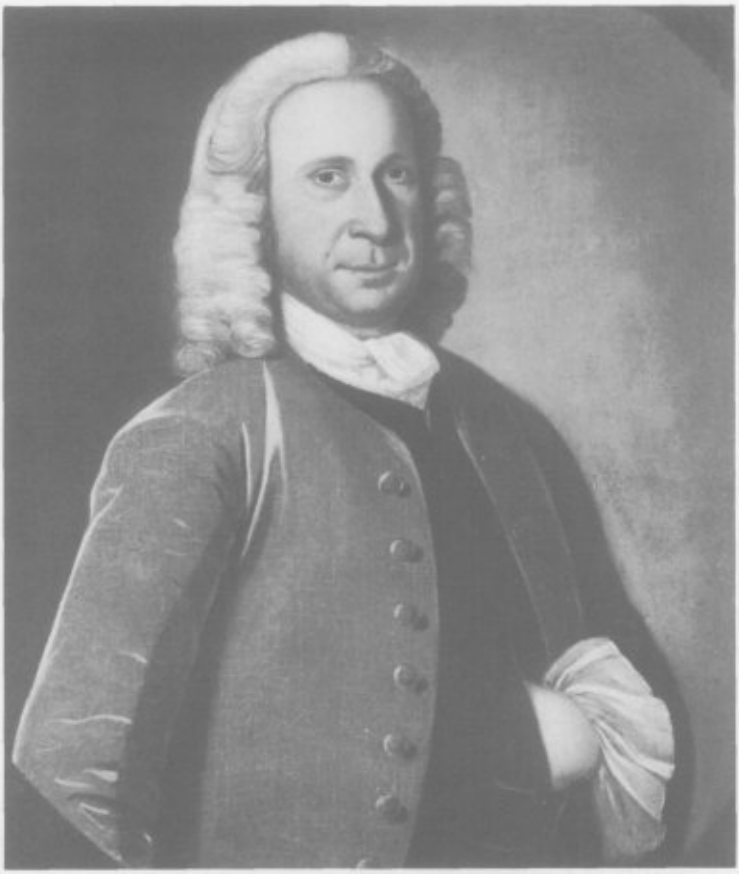
A NOTE ON THE MARYLAND DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTION OF 1776

By John C. Rainbolt

The standard of reference a historian employs may determine whether he discovers the process of democratization in particular events during the era of the American Revolution. For the Maryland Declaration and Charter of Rights and Constitution of 1776 the yardstick has usually been the constitutions formed in other new states.[1] This gage inevitably registers Maryland undemocratic. While most new states' constitutions concentrated power in the lower houses of assembly, deprived governors of patronage, and provided for elected upper houses, Maryland's constitution allowed the executive most appointive power and divided power fairly evenly between representatives and senators elected indirectly by an electoral system. In contrast especially to the unicameral assembly elected by all freemen paying taxes which Pennsylvanians adopted, the Maryland government outlined in 1776 was clearly undemocratic. Indeed, only the constitutions of South Carolina and New York rival Maryland's for provisions which checked the power of the lower house of assembly and restrained both the size and direct influence on government of the electorate.[2] This perspective is essential, of course, but alone it does not reveal the varied significance of the revolution for Maryland. The Maryland con-

[1] For studies which stress this perspective see Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution: A Political and Economic Study*, John Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, LXI, No. 1 (Baltimore, 1943), Chp. I; Allan Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775-1789* (New York, 1927), pp. 157-158; Elisha P. Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule During The American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1955), Chp. IV. The conservative transition in 1776 depicted by these studies is assumed in other works which analyze the state's later reaction to the federal constitution in 1787-1788. See Forrest McDonald, *We the People, The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958), p. 151, and Jackson Turner Main, *The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788* (Chapel Hill, 1961), p. 38.

[2] Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats*, Chps. III, IV, and V; Nevins, *American States*, Chp. IV. The new state constitutions are conveniently collected in Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America* (7 vols.: Washington, 1909).



The Hon. Matthew Tilghman (1718-1790) of "Bayside" and "Rich Neck" manors, Talbot County, Maryland. By John Hesselius. Portrait owned by Mr. John Frazer, Jr.

stitution like most historical phenomena changes its appearance and thus its meaning when the context alters. Placed against other backgrounds—Maryland's own colonial political structure and the initial drafts of the final documents—the Maryland bill of rights and constitution take on a less conservative hue.

One of the last colonies to support a Declaration of Independence, Maryland was by no means tardy in formulating a new frame of government after the break with Great Britain dissolved the old political compact. Both the initial hesitancy

and subsequent despatch emerged from apprehension among Maryland's leaders that the lesser sort during a decade of tension with the mother country and proprietor had cast off habits of deference and accepted ideas of social and economic levelling and radical political reform. In 1762 the "Generality of a Neighbourhood" seemed content to "think and act in most Things as some one leading Man among them (of whose Understanding they have a good Opinion) instructs them, and whom they have accustomed themselves to look upon as an Oracle, whose Speeches are infallible."[3] But the mimicking of the gentry could go too far and did after 1765.

The Maryland great planters' defiance of British authority at the time of the Stamp Act and Townsend Duties presented the lesson that authority did not always merit obedience and respect. The people learned the lesson well. In the aftermath of the crisis over the Townsend Duties William Eddis found that "An idea of equality also seems generally to prevail, and the inferior order of people pay but little external respect to those who occupy superior stations."[4] The confrontation between proprietary and anti-proprietary factions among the Maryland elite between 1770 and 1773 over the issue of officers' fees and clergymen's livings did little to arrest the growth of assertiveness among previously docile planters. Especially to supporters of the proprietary system under attack it seemed that in Maryland as in England "the minds of a certain Rank of men" were "poisoned to such a Degree, that far from being ashamed of resisting subordinate Authority, they even glory in their audacious Insults of Government itself."[5]

Perceiving that the common planters had abandoned older political and social attitudes, the aristocracy, as the final crisis with Great Britain grew after the Coercive Acts, feared that a desire for economic levelling as well was surfacing.[6] Alarmed by these real or imagined threats, the colony's elite clung until the last to the imperial connection which seemed essential for the

[3] *The Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 8, 1762.

[4] William Eddis, *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777* (London, 1782), p. 128.

[5] *Maryland Gazette,* Oct. 31, 1771. For a detailed description of the confrontation between country and proprietary factions between 1770-1773 see Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 329-367.

[6] Merrill Jensen, *The Founding of a Nation: A History of the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (New York, 1968), pp. 693-694.

maintenance of order. Then they moved immediately to ordain a new legitimate authority after pressure from other provinces and internal agitation for independence, especially in the western parts of the state and from a minority within the aristocracy itself which forced the provincial convention to acquiesce in the break with the mother country.

In late June 1776 the Maryland convention instructed its congressional delegates to vote for independence and simultaneously provided for the prompt election of a new convention to draft a state constitution.[7] Chosen by an electorate restricted by the old colonial requirement of fifty acres of land or property value at £ 40 sterling, the delegates convened at Annapolis on August 14, 1776. Present were many of the same men who had sat in colonial assemblies and then in the extra-legal conventions which usurped governmental powers in the province in 1774. Continuity marked the leadership of the new convention as well. The speaker of the last two colonial assemblies and chairman of the first two provincial conventions, Matthew Tilghman, both presided over the new convention and chaired the committee which formulated the working draft of the charter of rights and the constitution. Joining Tilghman on the drafting committee were Charles Carroll, Barrister, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Samuel Chase, William Paca, George Plater, Robert Goldsborough, R. T. Hooe, and Thomas Johnson. With the possible exception of Hooe, all had long been political, economic, and social leaders of the colony associated especially with the anti-proprietary faction.[8]

Familiar methods of election and a traditional leadership did

[7] *Proceedings of the Convention of the Province of Maryland, Held . . . the twenty-first of June, 1776* (Annapolis, 1776), pp. 10, 16-18.

[8] *Proceedings of the Convention of the Province of Maryland, Held . . . the Fourteenth of August, 1776* (Annapolis, 1776), pp. 8, 12. (Hereafter cited as *Proceedings of Convention, August, 1776.*) Hooe and Johnson did not join the committee until August 30, three days after the committee had submitted to the convention its draft of the Declaration and Charter of Rights and eleven days before its report of a draft Constitution. Recollections years after the convention credited Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase with the largest roles among the committee members. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution*, pp. 34-35. Chase, however, resigned his seat on August 27, the day the committee reported out its draft Declaration and, presumably, turned its attention to formulating a constitution. Chase was re-elected and resumed his seat on September 10, the day Tilghman's committee presented its draft of the Constitution to the convention. Whether Chase continued to serve on the committee unofficially between August 27 and September 10 is not known. *Proceedings of Convention, August, 1776*, pp. 12, 14, 23-24.

not produce a draft constitution and bill of rights lacking in innovation. Appointed on August 19, the committee formulated and submitted a Declaration and Charter of Rights in eight days; followed on September 10 by a draft constitution. The documents authored by Tilghman's committe bore as little resemblance to the colonial political structure as it did to the most democratic of the other state constitutions.[9] The simple need to fill the vacuum in the political structure created by the elimination of the proprietor dictated some alteration, but other changes were derived apparently from a purposeful design to eliminate the worst defects of the colonial constitution from the point of view of the members of the anti-proprietary faction who as successful, if somewhat reluctant revolutionaries, now monopolized political power. If, as the proprietary opponents had long believed, the corruption and misgovernment of Maryland issued from an imbalance in political power in favor of the executive element, the remedy lay obviously in dividing power more evenly between the other two parts of authority, the democratic interest represented by the lower house of the assembly and the aristocratic element in the upper chamber. The draft constitution thus pared the power enjoyed by colonial proprietary governors by providing for election of the governor annually by joint ballot by a bicameral house and prohibiting his re-election for more than three years without an intervening three-year interval. The provision also reduced to the vanishing point his control over the times of assembly session and eliminated his power to propose or amend legislation.[10]

The draft committee carefully contrived, however, to prevent the tripartite balance from tipping too far in the direction of the lower house. Except for the need of securing the "advice and consent" of a council elected by joint ballot of the legislature, the governor, envisioned in the draft constitution, enjoyed

[9] *The Constitution and Form of Government proposed for the Consideration of the Delegates of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1776). (Hereafter cited as Draft Committee's *Constitution . . . Proposed.*) *The Declaration and Charter of Rights* (Annapolis 1776). (Hereafter cited as Draft Committee's *Declaration . . . of Rights.*) These two titles are held by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The documents have been neglected; studies of Maryland's constitution consistently ignore these initial drafts. The titles are not listed in Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* . . . (12 vols.; Chicago, 1903-1934). See, however, Roger P. Bristol, *Evans' American Bibliography Supplement (Checking Edition)* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1962), p. 255 and Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922), Nos. 373-374.

[10] Draft Committee's *Constitution . . . Proposed,* Articles 18, 20, 34, 35.

"Raising the Liberty Pole, 1776" By John C. McRae. *Library of Congress.*

all the patronage power exercised by the proprietor. Unchecked control of the militia rested as well in his hands after he obtained his council's consent for a mobolization.[11] The draft also outlined a senate which was rendered less susceptible than the lower house to the whims of the people by a process of indirect election by county electors for the lengthy term of seven years.[12] As a whole, the draft constitution represented modest democratization in the sense of increasing power of the lower house of assembly.

While carefully measuring the degree of power conveyed to the lower house, the draft committee avoided altogether innovations which enlarged the role of the people in the process of governing. A greater degree of democracy in the sense of some increase in the power of the lower house was one thing; democracy in the sense of direct popular influence or an enlarged suffrage was something else. Tilghman's committee provided for no liberalization of the colonial suffrage requirements but made

[11] *Ibid.*, Articles 30, 32, 34.
[12] *Ibid.*, Articles 7, 8.

provision for property qualifications for the positions of governor, senator, and councilor. Doubtless the committee recommended a three-year term for delegates as a method to prevent their excessive dependence on the people which annual elections might produce.[13]

As a whole the draft constitution then limited democratic change to the sphere of balance within the government. The draft represented alteration in the role and powers of the various divisions within government without greatly changing the relationship between authority and the people. The committee largely rearranged power at the top.

Following an adjournment from September 17 to October 4, during which time printed copies of the draft Declaration and Charter of Rights and Constitution circulated "for the consideration of the people," the convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole to deliberate on the documents. A revised Declaration resulted from these proceedings on October 31, followed on November 3 by the constitution. Historians are deprived of recapturing the proceedings of the committee of the whole which unfortunately were not officially recorded. The decision to veil their actions in secrecy was conscious, for a motion to record and publish the actions of the committee with the regular proceedings met overwhelming defeat on October 10.[14]

From these hidden debates, however, the documents emerged "materially altered."[15] The revisions of the initial draft of the constitution both extended the democratic alterations relative to the power of the lower house, and, more significantly, introduced for the first time democratic changes of the second variety which Tilghman's committee had avoided. The revisions were far from expressions of radical political equalitarianism, but neither were they minor adjustments.

[13] *Ibid.*, Articles 2, 8, 19, 21.

[14] *Proceedings of Convention, August, 1776,* pp. 24-25, 28-32, 37. The attendance of several members of the convention at the Continental Congress, rather than any desire to permit the people time to express their sentiments on the initial drafts, apparently, occasioned the initial decision to postpone deliberation on the documents from Tilghman's committee. Subsequently by a close vote the convention resolved to allow public perusal of the drafts during the delay caused by absent members. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25, 28-29. Some in Maryland apparently hoped that the delay indicated continued reluctance by the convention to accept the fact of independence. Eddis, *Letters from America,* p. 332.

[15] *Proceedings of Convention, August, 1776,* p. 49.

Possibly the most significant revision of the first drafts occurred in the first article of the constitution. The committee of the whole was determined to eliminate all legislative functions and powers of the governor. The assembly became a two rather than a three branch institution as originally projected by Tilghman's committee.[16] Additionally, the length of time between re-election of executives who had served three terms became four rather than three years, and the assembly-elected council was allowed a greater degree of supervision over the governor's control of the militia and regular military forces.[17]

Greater popular democracy appeared most conspicuously in the revisions which provided for annual elections of the lower house, reduced senators' terms from seven to five years, and specified annual election of county sheriffs instead of their appointment by the governor.[18] Possibly the latter reform was the most important, for the office of sheriff was the part of governmental authority which most frequently and directly touched the lives of the people. Supplementing these critical alterations were lesser changes, including a slight reduction in suffrage requirements from the fifty acres or £ 40 sterling recommended in the original draft to fifty acres or £ 30 current money.[19]

The final consideration of the convention of its own handiwork as a committee of the whole occurred between October 31 and November 8 and produced no changes as fundamental as the first revision of the original drafts. But continued apprehension that the governor might informally influence legislation through placemen produced a strengthening of the earlier prohibitions against civil or military appointees holding seats in the assembly. Also strengthened was the clause in the original draft aimed at preventing a legislative alteration of the constitution which totally ignored the sentiments of the freemen.[20]

For the most part the regular convention proceedings consisted of unsuccessful efforts both to eliminate or to go beyond

[16] "The Constitution and Form of Government" in *Proceedings of Convention, August, 1776,* Articles 1, p. 61.

[17] *Ibid.,* Articles 31, 33, p. 64.

[18] *Ibid.,* Articles 2, 14, 42, pp. 61, 63, 65.

[19] *Ibid.,* Article 2, p. 61.

[20] *The Declaration of Rights, And the Constitution and Form of Government, Agreed to By the Delegates of Maryland, In Free and Full Convention Assembled* (Annapolis, 1776), Articles 37, 45, 59 of constitution. Two printings of the final version appeared in 1776. See Evans, *American Bibliography,* No. 14836 and Bristol, *Evans' American Bibliography Supplement,* p. 255.

the democratic changes introduced in the committee of the whole's version. Undoubtedly, delegates whose specific proposals met defeat in the committee of the whole made a final effort in behalf of the points of view rejected in secret committee session by the majority of delegates. Most of the more conservative amendments offered in this final step in the process of drafting the constitution came from Samuel Chase. Chase's motion to restore the governor's power to appoint the county sheriffs commanded only nine votes out of fifty-two. His effort to revive the provision of three-year terms for delegates failed without division, and his compromise suggestion of a two-year term lost by a vote of 31-23. Chase's only important victory came with the approval of his motion to set a property qualification of £ 1,000 for persons elected sheriff.

Charles Carroll, Barrister (1723-1783), of "Mount Clare," Baltimore County and son-in-law of Matthew Tilghman. By Charles Willson Peale, ca. 1771. Portrait owned by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland.

Apparently the majority of delegates, while willing to accept more elections in the structure of government, were anxious that the choice in these canvasses fall upon men whose stake in the community was large.[21] Failing to reverse the decisions taken in the committee of the whole, Chase and likeminded delegates were nonetheless able to prevent a greater liberalization of the original drafts by the convention. Motions to open the suffrage to persons with £ 5 property and then all taxpayers failed 34 to 19 and 29 to 24. A motion to allow qualified freemen to elect all justices of the peace, county clerks, and surveyors and for militia companies to choose their own officers failed without division.[22] These defeats, however, should not obscure the major alterations made in the committee of the whole.

Had the Maryland convention responded to pressure from the people in its alterations of the original draft of the constitution? The extant documents provide no certain answer to this question. Demands from outside the convention for universal adult male suffrage, for directly and annually elected lower and upper houses appeared in the early days of the body's proceedings.[23] The publication and public circulation of the initial draft between Tilghman's committee's report and the proceedings in the committee of the whole drew forth a satirical poem which urged the radical idea of rejecting the entire concept of a balanced government according to traditional concepts in favor of a unicameral assembly:

I saw in labour to bring forth
A government of fame and worth:
But when 'twas born, the granny said,
The monster had a triple head.
The first had eyes to seek the prey;
The second teeth to bear away;
The third had jaws to feed and quaff,
And leave the body lean enough.
The first three years was born to reign,
Then into nothing turn again;
The second seven years, alas!

[21] *Proceedings of Convention, August, 1776,* pp. 68, 70-71.
[22] *Ibid.,* pp. 67-68, 71.
[23] "Instructions to Charles Carroll, Barrister, Brice Thomas Beale Worthington, Samuel Chase and Rezin Hammon, Esqrs., Representatives for Anne-Arundel County," *Maryland Gazette,* Aug. 22, 1776.

Must on the body sentence pass.
The third must make the scripture true,
And every year be born anew.
So thus comparing one with t'other,
It much resembles the old mother.
Begat by Mammon on that harlot,
Who cloathes her heads in silk and scarlet,
But lets the body starve and freeze,
While they are rioting at ease.
Surely agreeable to nature,
One head's enough for any creature;
But if that head should be divided,
How will the quarrell be decided.[24]

Whether this agitation caused convention delegates to approve some democratic alterations against their inclination to forestall more radical demands or whether it only confirmed a pre-existing sentiment among the majority of delegates to modify the conservative committee draft is a moot question. Certainly there was, however, no direct correlation between the constituencies where agitation occurred most prominently and the support of the more democratic position by their representatives. Nearly nine hundred freemen of Anne Arundel petitioned for democratic provisions and three of the county's representatives resigned rather than be bound by these sentiments. In a subsequent election Samuel Chase and Brice Worthington won re-election, and John Hall replaced Charles Carroll, the Barrister.[25] Yet in the voting of these delegates, no indication appears that their constituent's demands had much impact. On roll call votes on motions which posed clearly the issue of democracy, the Anne Arundel delegation ranked below eleven others in support of the more democratic position.[26]

These same roll call votes suggest as well that no distinct correlations existed between the economic structure or the geographic location of counties and the voting behavior of the delegates.[27] Those who were most inclined to vote for democratic amendments of the draft constitution from the committee of the whole were the representatives from Harford, Calvert, Balti-

[24] "The Song of the Man in the Moon," *Maryland Gazette,* Oct. 24, 1776.
[25] "Instructions to . . . Representatives for Anne-Arundel County," *Maryland Gazette,* Aug. 22, 1776.
[26] See Voting Table.
[27] *Ibid.*

more, Queen Anne and Cecil counties and the lower district of Frederick County (later Montgomery County). These counties represented four of the different economic regions of Maryland. Calvert and Queen Anne counties were part of the lower and middle Chesapeake areas respectively. Harford, Baltimore and Cecil were in the upper Chesapeake area, and lower Frederick was part of the western region. The proportion of blacks in the population of these counties ranged from 48 per cent in Calvert, one of the highest concentrations in the state, to 23 per cent and 25 per cent in Harford and Baltimore, among the lowest of the counties outside the newly settled western regions.

The least democratically-inclined counties were St. Mary's, on the lower Potomac, Kent, in the middle Chesapeake area, Somerset, in the lower Chesapeake, and Caroline. The Caroline slave population was only 21 per cent in contrast to over 40 per cent in the other counties which had voted overwhelmingly against democratic revision. Indeed, measured by the value of land per acre, the delegates of the poorest county, Caroline, and the wealthiest, Kent, shared a similar aversion to democratic changes.

The roll calls suggest that the delegates from the counties in the forefront of the revolutionary movement after the Coercive Acts in 1774 did not uniformly favor or oppose democratic changes. Harford and Kent counties were among the first after word arrived of the Boston Port Act to endorse strenuous countermeasures of coercion against England. Subsequently in 1776 Harford and Kent would stand at opposite poles in the convention divisions over the draft constitution. In the vote taken in the provincial convention in late May 1776 to permit proprietary governor Eden to leave Maryland, a vote condemned by radicals who wished to seize the governor, the two counties whose delegations each cast only 10 per cent of their votes in favor of democratic revision of the draft constitution took opposite positions on the issue. Kent's delegates voted unanimously for and St. Mary's unanimously against the motion. The upper and lower districts of Frederick County responded with equal enthusiasm to the urgings in late June 1776 of Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton that the counties exert pressure on the provincial convention to approve of independence. In the subsequent writing of the state constitution these two areas were in different camps. The lower district's delegates cast

71 per cent of their votes in favor of democratic changes in contrast to 32 per cent for the upper district.[28]

Closely related to the issue of independence was the question of how thoroughly the new state should purge its political system of Tories or persons who had tried to remain neutral or who had been sympathetic toward Great Britain in the tense months between the Coercive Acts and Independence. The convention which formed the constitution divided sharply. A substantial minority of delegates backed a total proscription from political office for all time for virtually all who had not before July 4, 1776 signed the first Continental Congress's Association of non-intercourse with the mother country. Other representatives were willing to grant political rights to persons who pledged loyalty to the new nation even though they had remained neutral before independence. The division on this question, again, did not correspond to the cleavage on the motions for democratic revision. The four most democratically-inclined counties voted 2-11 against proscription; the four least democratically-inclined voted in an almost identical pattern, 1-9.[29]

Nor did the counties which were inclined toward democratic positions in the convention roll call votes subsequently take similar positions on the issue of state autonomy versus an increase in the power of the Continental Congress. The first major effort to strengthen the tardily ratified Articles of Confederation came after Congress in 1781 requested from the states the power to collect a five-per cent impost on imported goods until the nation's debts were fully paid. Maryland approved the proposal, but with modifications when a sharply-divided lower house defeated motions to authorize Congress rather than the state to appoint the collectors of the impost and to permit the impost to remain in force until all war debts were paid rather than for a limited period of twenty-five years. On these two motions the delegates from Kent and St. Mary's counties, which had voted overwhelmingly against democratic positions in the 1776 convention, split their votes 6-8 in favor of granting the greater power to Congress. The six most democratically inclined coun-

[28] *Proceedings of the Convention of the Province of Maryland, Held . . . the eighth of May, 1776* (Annapolis, 1776), pp. 21-22. Eddis, *Letters from America*, pp. 303-304.

[29] *Proceedings of Convention, August, 1776*, pp. 77-78. For details on the operation of the Association in Maryland see Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (New York, 1918), pp. 504-509.

An English View of the Rebellious American Colonies. *Library of Congress.*

ties in 1776 were not united on the motions related to the impost. Harford and Montgomery (formerly Lower Frederick) divided their votes 3-1 and 5-3 respectively against the motions to strengthen the impost powers conveyed to Congress. Calvert and Queen Anne voted 2-1 and 2-0 in favor of the motions. Baltimore and Cecil's representatives divided evenly 1-1 and 4-4 on the votes.[30]

The relationship, thus, between the division on the ten roll call votes and alignments on other issues was idiosyncratic. The sentiment for a greater degree of democratic change than that provided in the initial draft, however, was no less real because it lacked uniform economic or political roots. Failing to achieve all they desired, the delegates who sought to tip the balance in government structure slightly more in the democratic direction scored a significant degree of success. The completed Maryland constitution, while less democratic than the constitutions of

[30] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland. April Session, 1782. Being the Second Session of this Assembly . . .* (Annapolis, 1782), pp. 134-135, 143. For analysis of the origins and supporters of the impost in Congress see E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776-1790* (Chapel Hill, 1961), pp. 116-117.

some other new states, may well have embodied more *change* of colonial conditions.

The most democratic constitutions came often in new states where powerful lower houses of assembly and relatively liberal suffrage requirements prevailed before 1776. Beginning from an advanced position, Pennsylvania, for example, achieved a highly democratic constitution without drastic alterations of the Frame of Government of 1701.[31] If Maryland's new constitution still differed greatly from Pennsylvania's, the contrast after 1776 was not as great as before. From this perspective the transition from province to state in Maryland was scarcely conservative.

VOTING TABLE

County	% Vote Democratic[32]	% Population Black, 1782[33]	% Familes With 20 or More Slaves[34]	Average Land Value per Acre, 1781[35]
Harford	83% (35)	25%	4%	£ 1 .11.2
Calvert	76 (33)	48		1 . 9.0
Frederick-Lower Dist. (Montgomery)	71 (28)	31	4	1 . 9.0
Baltimore	70 (54)	23	4	1 .14.6
Queen Anne	69 (29)	43	8½	
Cecil	64 (36)	25	6	1 .6.7
Talbot	52 (21)	38	6½	1 .15.11
Frederick-Middle Dist. (Frederick)	51 (31)	10	4	1 .14.9
Prince George	49 (29)	47	16	2 .3.0
Charles	41 (22)	46	9	
Worcester	35 (23)	29	4	0 .19.0¼
Anne Arundel	34 (59)	48	10	1 .10.11
Frederick-Upper Dist. (Washington)	32 (19)	7	2	1 .6.0
Caroline	17 (30)	21	3	0 .13.01
Somerset	13 (31)	43		1 .3.3
Kent	10 (21)	41	5	2 .7.0
St. Mary's	10 (31)	42	8½	1 .12.14

[31] Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, V, pp. 3076-3092.

[32] The ten roll call votes, recorded in *Proceedings of Convention, August, 1776*, were: (1) a motion to have all votes in the convention by voice rather than secret ballot so as not "to conceal the conduct of . . . representatives from" the people, p. 8; (2) a motion to print and distribute copies of the initial draft of the bill of rights and constitution "for the consideration of the people at large . . .," p. 29; (3) a motion that proceedings of the committee of the whole be recorded in order that the people might "know the conduct and behavior of their representatives . . .," p. 37; (4) a motion which would have increased the power of the assembly *vis à vis* the governor by eliminating the latter's option of accepting or rejecting the former's recommendation for the removal of judges, p. 55; (5) a motion offered to increase the power of the governor by requiring a two-

Significantly, however, the drift toward a more democratic political structure which occurred in the several revisions of the Maryland constitution was not matched by liberal modifications in other areas. On the contrary as the convention liberalized the political provisions it also cut out or modified reforms in the areas of slavery and church-state relations embodied in the initial draft. Deleted from the original bill of rights was the provision which declared "That no person hereafter imported into this State from Africa, or any part of the British dominions, ought to be held in slavery under any pretence whatever, and that no negro or mulatto slave ought to be brought into this state for sale from any part of the world." The draft committee, dominated by the elite, had penned also an unambiguous article prohibiting legislation which required any person "to frequent or maintain, or contribute, unless on contract, to maintain any religious worship, place of worship, or ministry. . . ." The convention subsequently muted this attack on church-state connections by empowering the government to levy taxes for the support of all churches equally.[36] The Maryland convention's greater receptivity to the emerging political values rather than to the racial and religious values of enlightenment thought was a harbinger perhaps of the frequent incompatibility between political democracy, on the one hand, and racial and religious liberalism on the other which would mark much of the history of the early republic.

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thirds vote of each house on all recommendations to the executive for the removal of judges, p. 55; (6) a motion to reduce the voting qualifications to £ 5, p. 67; (7) a motion to grant the suffrage to all adult free, white males paying taxes, pp. 67-68; (8) a motion providing for triennial rather than annual elections of the lower house of assembly, p. 68; (9) a motion to establish a property qualification of £ 1,000 for persons elected as county sheriff, pp. 70-71; (10), a motion to eliminate election of sheriffs, p. 71. The percentage indicates the proportion of all votes cast by a county's delegates in favor of the democratic position. The number in parentheses indicates the total number of votes cast by the county representatives on all ten roll call votes. The delegates from Annapolis and Baltimore have been combined with Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties respectively in order to facilitate comparison with data compiled from sources which do not distinguish between the area of the county and the towns.

[33] *The American Museum, or Universal Magazine,* VII (1790), p. 159, reprinted also in Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (New York, 1936), p. 174.

[34] Main, *Antifederalists,* p. 291.

[35] *An Account of the Gross and Average Values of the Land . . .* (Annapolis, 1784).

[36] Draft Committee's *Declaration of Rights,* Articles 41, 34, 35; "The Declaration and Charter of Rights," in *Proceedings of Convention, August 1776,* Articles 34, 35, pp. 52-53; final version of the *Declaration of Rights . . . ,* Article 33.

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE AND THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1885-1971: NATURE, STRUCTURE AND MEANS OF ACQUISITION*

By Edward C. Carter II

I

Shortly before noon on October 1, 1970, a simple sign was affixed to a ground floor office door in the older portion of the Maryland Historical Society. It read: "The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe." This act was not without significance, for it proclaimed the existence of a new and major documentary editing project. It was also the partial fulfillment of a hundred year old dream of John H. B. Latrobe (1803-1891) to publish the writings and drawings of his brilliant and illustrious father, Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820), the great American architect and engineer. Fifteen months earlier, Professor Edward C. Carter II, then a Fellow of the Humanities Center, The Johns Hopkins University, had accepted the invitation of the Council and Publications Committee of the Society to become the Editor of The Papers.

Professor Carter joined the faculty of The Catholic University of America in September 1969 and began his work as Editor the following January. Miss Angeline Polites was appointed Assistant to the Editor when the office was opened.[1] In the next nine months the staff surveyed the Latrobe materials in the Society's possession, isolated the problems to solve and programs to originate in the future, searched for potential support funds, and developed editorial policies and publication plans. The Council of the Society received Professor Carter's report and on

* A shorter version of this essay was presented as an illustrated lecture at the Maryland Historical Society on May 23, 1971.

[1] Miss Polites has been responsible for the technical aspects of our early work. She compiled a thorough inventory of the Benjamin Henry Latrobe holdings and investigated the history of these items at the Society. Much of this article rests upon Miss Polites' skillful and thoughtful research.

March 18, 1971, it appointed him Editor in Chief of The Papers, declared the project formally established, and accepted the initial membership of the Board of Editors.[2] A public announcement was made of the Council's action on June 14 by the Society's President, Samuel Hopkins, and the Director, Harold R. Manakee. This statement also contained the important news that two weeks previous the National Endowment for the Humanities had awarded The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe an $84,286 Bicentennial Matching Grant to support the project's two year Collection and Planning Phase beginning September 1, 1971.[3] Also noted was the fact that on May 13 The National Historical Publications Commission had passed a resolution formally endorsing The Papers' publication plans.

Our purpose is to prepare the complete works of Benjamin Henry Latrobe for microfilm and letterpress publication. This will require ten years. The Collection and Planning Phase of the project, described in detail below, will occupy the first two years; actual editorial work will be the major task thereafter. The Collection and Planning Phase will be devoted to achieving four goals. First and most important, we will collect copies of all the known and discoverable Latrobe documents: manuscript, printed, and graphic not now in the Society's collections. Second, we will process these, together with our own items, and place them in our document control system. Third, we will plan our editorial and publishing program for the second phase of the project. Fourth, we will begin editing Latrobe's journals for the Virginia years (1796-1798).

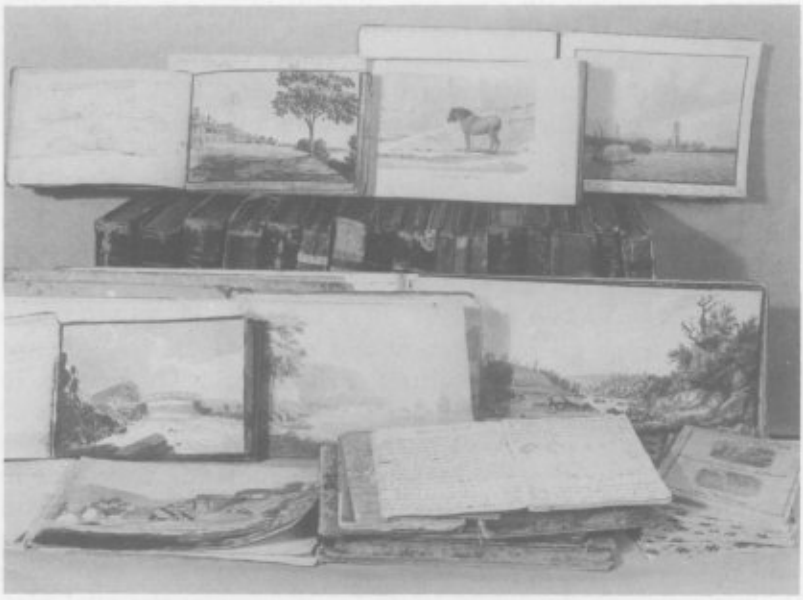
[2] To date, six persons have accepted positions on the Board: Whitfield Bell, Librarian of the American Philosophical Society and formerly Associate Editor of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin; Lyman H. Butterfield, Editor in Chief of The Adams Papers; Rhoda M. Dorsey, Dean and Vice-President of Goucher College; Alan Gowans, Professor of Art History at Victoria University and Vice-President of the Society of Architectural Historians; Jack P. Greene, Professor of History at The Johns Hopkins University; and Walter Muir Whitehill, Director and Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum.

[3] The Endowment, an agency of the Federal Government, was established in 1965. It serves humanistic studies in America as the National Science Foundation does the sciences. Under the terms of a matching grant, the Endowment accepts gifts of cash or securities, or firm pledges of the same, from private citizens and foundations up to one-half the amount of the grant. When a gift is received, the Endowment frees funds for the use of the grantee in the amount of the individual gift together with an equal amount from the Endowment. Thus a gift of $5,000 to the Endowment brings $10,000 to The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. To take full advantage of our grant $42,193 must be given to the Endowment for our project by June 30, 1972. As of September 1, 1971, in excess of $6,000 has been given or pledged.

Some may wonder what we mean by The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, and why we generally employ the third person singular rather than the third person plural when we refer to The Papers. At the primary level, The Papers consist of Latrobe's writings, drawings, watercolors, architectural and engineering plans and renderings which the Society now possesses, together with those outside the Society, copies of which we will collect and combine with our own. All of these will be studied, edited, and published with scholarly commentary in several forms. These items are the raw material of our project. These are The Papers (plural) of Benjamin Henry Latrobe.

When we use the singular number in speaking of The Papers, we are referring to the institution or organization that is charged with translating Latrobe's papers (plural) into published form. In this sense, The Papers consists of our staff, the offices in which we work, our library of technical bibliographical tools, our ever increasing complex of correspondence and reference files, and our primary literary and graphic materials. In due course it will also include the collected copies of external Latrobe materials, our transcription of the written materials, microfilms of the entire collection, color slides of all the architect's drawings and watercolors, our manuscripts in various drafts, and ultimately, the eleven volumes of the letterpress or book form edition that we will produce.

The core of the papers is a large collection of the letters and drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe purchased by the Society in 1960. It consists of fourteen sketchbooks containing 310 watercolors and drawings dating from Latrobe's departure from England in 1795 until his death in New Orleans twenty-five years later; thirteen small journals in which he recorded his observations and thoughts as he traveled about the country; and nineteen bound volumes of Latrobe's outgoing correspondence for the years 1803 to 1817 in the famous architect's own handwriting. At the time, Professor Anthony N. B. Garvan of the University of Pennsylvania said, "It is in my estimation without any question the most important collection dealing with all aspects of American social history in the early nineteenth century." The sketchbooks contain many watercolors and drawings which often relate to the entries in the journals. Of particular significance is Latrobe's visual and literary description of Virginia and its society in the late 1790's. But this is only a small



The major collection of sketchbooks, letterbooks, and journals at the time of its purchase, 1960. *Maryland Historical Society.*

portion of the treasures to be discovered among his sketchbooks. There are numerous watercolor views of American towns, landscapes, marine scenes, natural history, and of everyday life. The letterbooks contain more than 5,000 letters made by Latrobe with a polygraph, a copying device which he obtained from Charles Willson Peale. Among his correspondents were his great patron Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Mrs. Madison, James Monroe, Aaron Burr, Albert Gallatin, Robert Fulton, and Archbishop John Carroll.

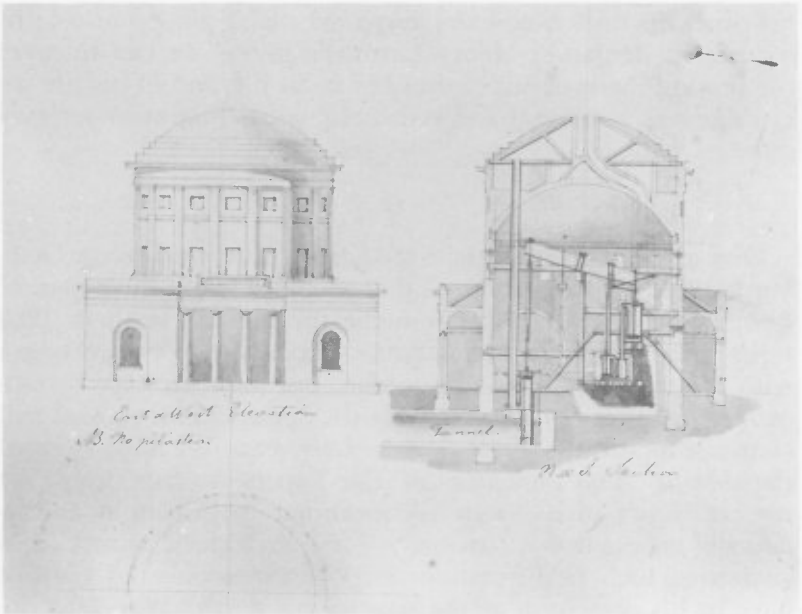
The following year the Society purchased a smaller collection of Latrobe's letters and sketches. These two groups of materials were combined with an earlier collection of journals and some thirty-odd architectural drawings of such important buildings as the United States Capitol and St. John's Church in Washington, the Roman Catholic Cathedral and the Exchange in Baltimore, and the Bank of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Thus the Maryland Historical Society came to possess the largest and finest collection of Benjamin Henry Latrobe material in exist-

ence. Throughout the long and difficult process of negotiating for the purchase of these two collections and raising the necessary funds, the Maryland Historical Society was motivated by its belief that this unusual record of our young Republic would someday be set before the scholarly world and general public in published form.

There is no reason to debate the importance of Benjamin Henry Latrobe and his work in the history of this nation. The case for both is so obvious that it is not well served by any form of exaggeration. In the field of architecture he was the man of his generation. As an engineer there were few in America who could challenge his imagination and technical skills. Professor Talbot Hamlin, in his Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Latrobe, points out that he was the "single-minded creator of the architectural profession in the United States" and that two of his pupils, "William Strickland and Robert Mills, became in turn the country's most distinguished architects to carry forward the development of the profession. . . ."[4] Thus to bring together the papers of Latrobe in one organized body is a significant humanistic contribution in itself, for it provides the vital platform upon which any study of the growth of that profession in America must rest.

The approach of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution adds even greater importance to this project. In Latrobe's sketchbooks, architectural drawings and sketches, in his letters and maps, we have the finest existing pictorial representation of the people, the buildings, the rivers and roads, the harbors, the cities, and the landscape of the young Republic. His association with the leaders of the Revolutionary generation such as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison is recorded in depth and detail, and with wit, perspective, and sensitivity. As these men had helped fashion and test the new political institutions of America, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, in his own way, was a Founding Father of his adopted country, for he helped create two American professions: architecture and engineering. Also, he played a vital role in building that symbol of the Federal Union, the city of Washington. As Senators and Representatives attempted to make the Constitution serve the needs of the American people, Latrobe toiled to make the Capitol a beautiful, functional,

[4] Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), pp. xviii-xix.



"Sketch for a design of an Engine house and Wateroffice" for the Philadelphia Waterworks, March 1799. *Maryland Historical Society.*

and safe home for their labors. Finally, Latrobe served the cause of national unity through his contributions to canal building and steamboating on the western waters. In sum, Latrobe's papers will grant historians of various interests entry into the world of the young Republic through many different portals; the result must be a new and deeper understanding of this nation, its people and its institutions.

In a time of urban blight and environmental crisis, Latrobe stands as a brilliant example for modern Americans to consider and emulate. His whole career was one continual struggle to establish professional standards and to build with taste and quality among a people who were wasteful of their urban surroundings and natural resources. As interested in gaining wealth as the next American, he still retained his belief that his task was to create functional homes, buildings, and even cities in which men could live and work in comfort and safety. His concern for public health and sanitation is proven by his water systems in Philadelphia and New Orleans. As well as any man of

his times, he understood and respected man's place and role in nature. In Benjamin Henry Latrobe's papers we can uncover the roots of many of our nation's physical ills, and in his life we can discover a rational and reforming spirit that even yet may serve us well.

II

One of the most important tasks that confronted us on October 1, 1970, was to discover all that we could about the papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe from the time of his death in 1820 until the opening of the project's office. Naturally, we began with the materials in our possession, but soon we were investigating the history of items outside the Society. This process will continue for an additional three or four years. We have assigned the title of "The Prehistory of The Papers" to this study. We use prehistory in its secondary meaning: "a history of antecedents of an event or situation."[5] The "Prehistory" assists us in answering such vital questions as: What materials did Latrobe have in his possession at the time of his death? Who later inherited what and how? How were the Society's holdings acquired? What uses have been made of these materials? What has been published? When did plans originate for a printed edition of The Papers, and which individuals have played major roles in these matters? Prehistory is in no sense a term of conceit, as we of The Papers' staff hardly claim that all things began with our work. Rather, we are building on the work and devotion of many others such as John H. B. Latrobe, Ferdinand C. Latrobe II, the Society's former Director, the late James W. Foster, and its present Director, Harold R. Manakee. The "Prehistory" has been Miss Polites' special province, and she has conducted this aspect of our work with great proficiency and imagination.

We know that Latrobe's final years were tragic beyond belief. Henry, the talented architect-builder son of his first marriage, died of yellow fever in September 1817 in New Orleans where he was constructing the waterworks. Latrobe resigned as Architect of the Capitol and was forced into bankruptcy at the close of the year. No important commissions materialized during a short sojourn in Baltimore despite his brilliant work on the

[5] *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary*. (Springfield, Mass., 1970), p. 670.

Watercolor drawing of the Roman Catholic Cathedral (now the Basilica of the Assumption) of Baltimore, ca. 1816. *Maryland Historical Society.*

Cathedral and the Exchange. The only prospect offered to him was the direction of the unfinished New Orleans waterworks. In mid-December 1818, Benjamin Henry Latrobe made the first of his two trips to that city. On September 3, 1820, he too died of yellow fever. Both Latrobe and his widow, Mary Elizabeth Hazelhurst Latrobe, placed great artistic and historical value on his journals, letterbooks, and drawings; both were fearful that they might be seized together with his professional library by his creditors, first at the time of his bankruptcy and then at his death. The papers must have been in New Orleans in 1820 and then returned to Baltimore by the bereaved Mary Latrobe.

When his father died, John H. B. Latrobe resigned from West Point and entered the law office of the friend who gave Latrobe's family its support and guidance, Robert Goodloe Harper. John H. B. Latrobe became the great legal advisor of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The younger son of Latrobe's second marriage, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Jr. (1806-1878), became an outstanding civil engineer, building some of the most difficult trackage of the B & O and serving as a consultant to the first transcontinental railroads. These men concerned themselves with their father's papers.

John H. B. appears to have inherited the bulk of The Papers; his share then descended in his family until the remaining items were acquired from Mrs. Ferdinand C. Latrobe in 1960.[6] This group was composed mainly of Latrobe's journals, sketchbooks, and letterbooks. Benjamin Henry Jr.'s group contained architectural drawings, a few letters to Latrobe, some letters from Latrobe to his wife, John H. B. Latrobe, and Robert Goodloe Harper, and other individual items.[7] These passed to his son, Charles H. Latrobe (1834-1903), and then in several stages to Mrs. Gamble Latrobe of Wilmington, Delaware, from whom the Society acquired most of the remaining documents in 1961.

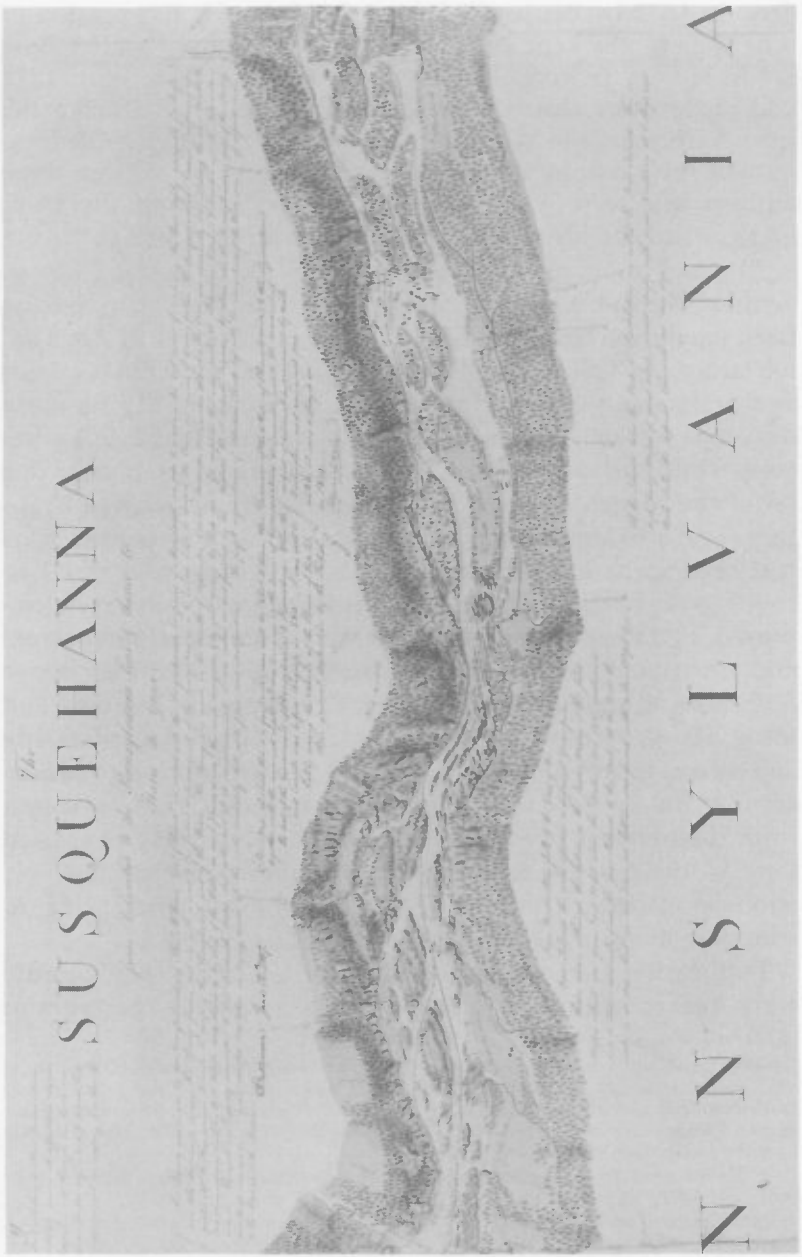
It was Charles H. Latrobe who presented the first Benjamin Henry Latrobe item to the Society on October 12, 1885: the seventeen foot long Susquehannah River Survey Map of 1801. The following year John H. B. Latrobe donated the commission from Governor Thomas McKean of Pennsylvania authorizing Latrobe to undertake the survey. Then in 1897, Charles H. Latrobe contributed five beautiful architectural watercolors. Between 1918 and 1961, the Society has received other important Benjamin Henry Latrobe items, some of which were originally part of John H. B.'s and Benjamin Henry Jr.'s portions of their father's papers, through the generosity of members of the Latrobe, Paul, and Semmes families.

At present, we know very little of what was done with The Papers following their return to Baltimore until 1865 when John H. B. Latrobe presented to the Society a portfolio of the United States Capitol competition drawings which had been in his father's possession.[8] Evidently he withheld most of Stephen Hallet's drawings, for these were given to the Library of Con-

[6] John H. B. Latrobe had the letterbooks in his possession in 1871 and 1881 when he wrote essays on "The First Steamboat Voyage on the Western Waters" and "The Capitol and Washington at the Beginning of the Present Century," both published in Baltimore. He also read lengthy selections from his father's journals to members of the Society on June 1, 1871, December 8, 1873, June 14, 1875, and in the year of his death on April 13, 1891. Minutes of the Society for these dates. MS. 2008, Md. Hist. Soc.

[7] He wrote in 1876 of having a large portfolio of his father's architectural drawings and a few engineering drawings of the Philadelphia Waterworks and also the Susquehannah River Survey Map. B. H. Latrobe, Jr. to William J. McAlpine, October 16, 1876. Mrs. Gamble Latrobe Collection, MS. 1638, Md. Hist. Soc.

[8] He also "read an interesting paper relating to them [the competition drawings]: giving a history of the building of the first Capitol, and its reconstruction after being burned by the British Army in 1814." Minutes of the Society, November 2, 1865.



A portion of the Susquehanna Survey Map. Watercolor drawing, 1817. *Maryland Historical Society.*

gress in 1872 by Benjamin Henry, Jr.[9] John H. B.'s portion of The Papers was kept at "Fairy Knowe," a family estate; Benjamin Henry, Jr. consulted the letterbooks there early in 1872 and made short abstracts of some of the letters.[10] During the next four years the younger Latrobe generously provided extensive information about his father's career to at least three authors who were writing articles and books about the U. S. Capitol and the history of civil engineering in America.[11]

Although a lawyer by profession, John H. B. Latrobe was an accomplished watercolorist and architectural draftsman, having been taught the latter trade by its finest practitioner in America, his father. As Talbot Hamlin points out, "his precocious talents as a draftsman were notable." In the summer of 1817 he made drawings for the United States Capitol, and in the following year, while still only fifteen, he executed the larger part of one set of the superb Bank of the United States competition drawings for his father.[12] Also, John H. B. Latrobe's formative years had been spent in close association with Benjamin Henry Latrobe's great triumphs and defeats. It is only natural that he employed The Papers differently and with more vigor, perception, and sensitivity than his younger brother. He became an active but balanced promoter of his father's great accomplishment and ideas. He wrote articles about Benjamin Henry Latrobe's life and career, lectured to the American Institute of Architects concerning his father's work on the Capitol, and read at length from the journals to the Society's membership.[13] He annotated some of the Latrobe drawings in the Library of Congress. We strongly suspect that John H. B. Latrobe was attempting to stimulate interest in the publication of The Papers.

Publication did commence piecemeal and rather haphazardly early in this century. A selection of excerpts from the journals

[9] The portfolio was sent to Edward Clark, architect of the Capitol extension, who placed it in the Library of Congress for safekeeping. See the letter of acknowledgment and thanks from L. A. Morill, Chairman of the Joint Committee of the Library of Congress to B. H. Latrobe, Jr., June 4, 1872. Mrs. Gamble Latrobe Collection.

[10] "Memoranda from my father's Letter Books—taken at 'Fairy Knowe'—February 15, 1872," *ibid.*

[11] Correspondence between B. H. Latrobe, Jr. and the following: James Q. Howard, S. D. Wyeth, and William J. McAlpine during the years 1872-1876, *ibid.*

[12] Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* pp. 500 and 503.

[13] See footnote 6.

appeared in 1905.[14] John E. Semmes included a few Benjamin Henry Latrobe letters in his 1917 study of John H. B. Latrobe.[15] From time to time, individual items were published in newspapers or in academic journals.[16] A sense of order and direction replaced this mode of publication when Ferdinand C. Latrobe II (1889-1944) inherited the vast majority of The Papers and set out to continue and broaden the efforts of his grandfather, John H. B. Latrobe, to keep "alive the memory of the architect's great contribution to the welfare and beautification of his adopted country."[17]

Certainly it was Ferdinand Latrobe who decided that The Papers in his hands must be published *in toto* at some future date, and that a full scale biography of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, based on these documents, must be written. Assisted by his gracious wife, Aileen Ford Latrobe, he spent endless hours working on his collection. He prepared a digest of the letterbooks, indexed the notebooks, journals, and sketchbooks, and began a transcription of the letterbooks. Today our xerox copy, "Abstracts and Digest of the Sketchbooks and Letterbooks of Benjamin Henry Latrobe Owned by the Maryland Historical Society," is one of The Papers' most valued research tools.

Ferdinand Latrobe prepared a manuscript entitled "The Writings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe" which he did not publish because he felt it was incomplete. Nevertheless, he made his collection available to qualified scholars, although for years he reserved the task of writing the biography for himself. After his death, his friend Professor Talbot Hamlin wrote his brilliant study with the unstinting cooperation of Ferdinand Latrobe's widow. Today we too are the recipient and beneficiary of her kindness and helpful knowledge.

In 1951, Samuel Wilson, Jr., the distinguished New Orleans architect, preservationist, and historian, skillfully edited the New

[14] *The Journal of Latrobe,* with an introduction by John H. B. Latrobe (New York, 1905).

[15] John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803-1891* (Baltimore, 1917).

[16] John E. Semmes in 1908 allowed the Baltimore *Sunday Sun* to print three Latrobe letters then in his possession: B. H. Latrobe to Mary Latrobe, November 30, 1802, Thomas Jefferson to B. H. Latrobe, February 28 and April 27, 1804, in the (Baltimore) *Sunday Sun,* November 29, 1908.

[17] Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* p. viii. For Hamlin's fine tribute to Ferdinand Latrobe's achievement of ordering and analyzing the collection and making the fruits of his labors available to scholars, see *ibid.,* pp. vii-viii.

Orleans journals and drawings, which were beautifully published by Columbia University Press.[18] The most recent major publication of a portion of The Papers was a handsomely illustrated article entitled "Latrobe's America" in *American Heritage* of August 1962.[19]

Thus, by 1958 the importance of Benjamin Henry Latrobe's work and the artistic and historical richness of his writings and drawings were patently evident to the scholarly world and the then Director and Officers of the Society. When the opportunity to acquire first Mrs. Ferdinand C. Latrobe's and then Mrs. Gamble Latrobe's collections arose, the Society acted with dispatch. The membership followed in turn and provided the necessary purchase funds. Later, in 1966, the Society received an anonymous gift of $10,000 to be used for restoring and preserving The Papers.

A publication project was taking form in James W. Foster's mind early in 1961. The Papers needed to be put in order, repaired, and preserved, and sources of funds sought before serious publication planning could begin. Foster compiled a catalog "List of Watercolor Paintings and Drawings in the Sketchbooks of Benjamin Henry Latrobe" which we now use regularly. The late Philip Hamer, then of the National Historical Publications Commission, offered his assistance in obtaining foundation support for the publication of The Papers. Letters were addressed to other historical repositories requesting information regarding Latrobe material in their collections, and numerous replies were received by the end of 1961. Then suddenly, in April of the following year, James W. Foster died. For the moment the project lost momentum. But the hiatus was only one of a few years. The new Director was forced to deal with such problems as the construction of the Society's new building and re-establishment of the staff and collections therein; yet Harold Manakee continued to interest himself in The Papers.

Good fortune next appeared in the person of Charles E. Peterson, F.A.I.A., of Philadelphia, the noted architectural historian who has played such a significant role in the recording

[18] *Impressions Respecting New Orleans by Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe: Diary and Sketches, 1818-1820,* edited with an introduction and notes by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York, 1951).

[19] Paul F. Norton and E. M. Halliday, "Latrobe's America," *American Heritage,* 13, no. 5 (August, 1962).

A closer view of the sketchbooks and a letterbook. *Maryland Historical Society.*

and preservation of this nation's architectural heritage. He generously offered to have his secretary begin transcribing the letterbooks in her spare time. The Council gave its permission, and the project was undertaken in May 1965. The transcriptions were made from positive enlargements of microfilm negatives. Mr. Peterson bore the expense of the work; the Columbia University School of Architecture, where Mr. Peterson taught, donated $1,000, and an additional $100 also was applied to the project in December 1965, the latter gift a prize awarded to Mr. Peterson for his outstanding services. To date we have received typed transcriptions for the years 1803 to 1807 and an additional year is nearing completion.

The Papers acquired from Mrs. Ferdinand C. Latrobe II were in need of repair and restoration before they could be safely used. This long and costly process required three years and was finished in 1969. The letterbooks were microfilmed for security, repaired, deacidified, laminated, and rebound; the journals laminated; the drawings and watercolors put in acid-free folders and photographed in color.

Meanwhile the Society's Publications Committee Chairman, Professor Charles A. Barker of The Johns Hopkins University, had renewed the search for publication funds. Professor Barker for many years was a leading advocate of our project. The National Historical Publications Commission awarded the Society a grant of $3,500 in June 1967 to prepare a feasibility study on the editing and publication of The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Professor Paul F. Norton of the University of Massachusetts, a noted Latrobe scholar, completed his study thirteen months later, recommending publication *in toto*.[20] With this able and favorable report in hand, the Publications Committee, now led by Dean Rhoda Dorsey of Goucher College, began its search for The Papers' editor. Professor Carter agreed to serve in that capacity in June 1969.

III

The project became a reality on January 1, 1970, when Professor Carter assumed the direction of The Papers. He agreed to serve without compensation until the project was funded. It soon became evident that an assistant to the Editor was required if reasonable progress was to be made. The Council voted the necessary funds, and Miss Polites, Instructor of American History at Goucher College, was appointed to that position. She worked half time in 1970 and now works full time. During the past year, we have received the continuing support of three institutions: The Adams Papers, the National Historical Publications Commission, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Dr. Lyman Butterfield, Editor in Chief of The Adams Papers, has received us on two occasions, and our present progress is in large degree due to his firm and friendly counsel on organizational and editorial matters. Dr. Oliver W. Holmes and his staff have given us encouragement, much needed technical advice, and valued fiscal information upon which much of our budget is based. Dr. William Emerson, Director of the Endowment's Division of Research and Publication, has patiently answered our numerous questions concerning our grant application.

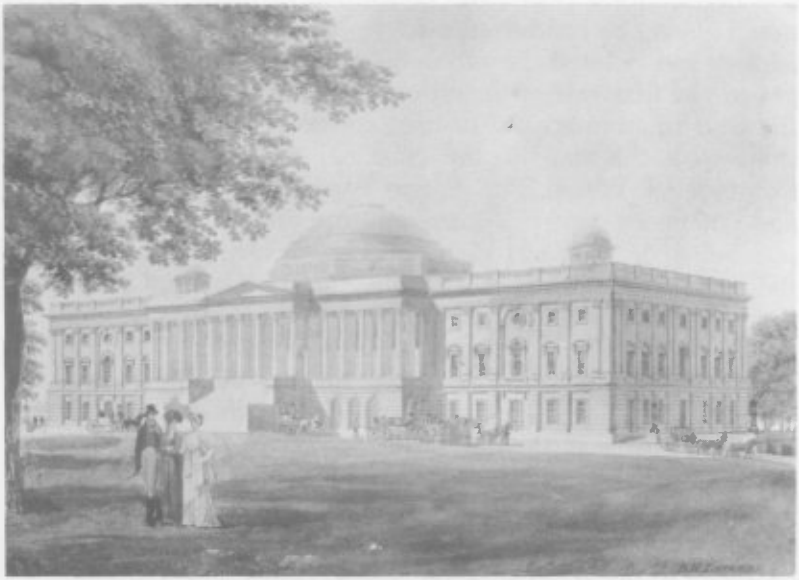
[20] Paul F. Norton, "Publication of The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe" (Unpublished report to the Maryland Historical Society and the National Historical Publications Commission, Baltimore, 1968).

Under Professor Carter's direction, the initial work of inquiry and organization began and continued through June 1971. As noted above, he conducted a survey of Latrobe material at the Society and isolated the problems to solve and programs to begin in our first year of operation. Also, he met with scholars in the field of architectural history, conversed on numerous occasions with the staff of the National Historical Publications Commission, visited The Adams Papers to study their editing and document control system, and opened negotiations with a number of leading university presses regarding publication of the letterpress edition. Finally, he sought potential sources of funds, both private and public.

Miss Polites has conducted the technical work of the project. In addition to her work on the prehistory of The Papers, she has xeroxed all pertinent correspondence and documents concerning Latrobe in the files of the Society and transferred them to our files. She is compiling a thorough inventory of the Society's Latrobe holdings which will be completed shortly. Last December she spent a week at The Adams Papers being introduced to the art of editorial management and studying their document control system. Our major task for the balance of the academic year was to organize our own document control system and pass a variety of sample documents through it.

The Collection and Planning Phase of our project, which began in September 1971, will be completed in two years. We have recently appointed John C. Poppeliers, Senior Editor and Architectural Historian, Historic American Buildings Survey, U. S. Department of the Interior, as our consultant, to deal with architectural and technological matters. We will also hire a secretary-transcriber. When we begin the editorial phase of our work in September 1973, we will appoint an architectural historian as Associate or Assistant Editor.

The collection phase of each historical papers project is essentially the same. The problems vary, but the process is without mystery. We will bring each item Latrobe wrote, drew, painted, or published that can be found into our document control system. This will entail using a variety of copying and photoreproduction methods. We are not searching for a vast number of documents as some projects have been required to do. The Society possesses perhaps 70 per cent of the known Latrobe material. We can estimate that another 20 per cent which is totally



The United States Capitol building as Latrobe envisioned it. Watercolor drawing, 1810. *Maryland Historical Society.*

unknown (exclusive of the originals of our letterbook items) will be uncovered. Our collection is complicated, however, because we must deal with various types of graphic documents besides the normal manuscript forms. The collected documents will be processed and placed in our chronological documents control file system where they will be interfiled with xerox copies of the Society's documents. Once this is completed, we will be ready to begin work on the microfilm and letterpress editions of Latrobe's papers.

In September 1973, after the completion of the collection and organization of the material, formal editoral work will begin. A microfilm edition of the complete works of Latrobe will come first, appearing probably late in 1973. It will afford the dual advantage of placing at once The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe at the disposal of scholars, and will permit us to prepare a selective letterpress edition which will be published by the Yale University Press in four series:

Series I: Journals, two volumes of Latrobe's description and views of politics, society, manners, art, natural science, geology, and geography, written primarily during his residences in Virginia, Philadelphia, Washington, and New Orleans, and illustrated with paintings and drawings from his sketchbooks.

Series II: Latrobe's View of America, one large portfolio volume of watercolors and sketches with accompanying text depicting the United States as it appeared to Latrobe in the years 1796 to 1820.

Series III: Letterbooks, six volumes of outgoing letters which present an interwoven chronicle of Latrobe's professional and business interests and American public events from 1803 to 1817.

Series IV: Architectural Drawings, two volumes of Latrobe's architectural and engineering drawings, plans, and sketches with accompanying scholarly commentary and illustrative photographs.

It is our hope that either the Virginia Journals or Latrobe's View of America will be ready for the press in 1974.

This brief history of The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe is in part a chronicle of the contributions and cooperation of those many individuals and institutions that have helped us to where we stand today. The future, too, depends on the good will and sympathy of many others. Scholars will be asked countless questions. Our sister institutions and private collectors will be requested to provide us with copies of their Latrobe items for study and inclusion in our microfilm and letterpress editions. Support funds will be solicited from a wide spectrum of sources, private and public. The Maryland Historical Society and its membership are to be praised for accepting this great responsibility and challenge. In the past decade, nearly $90,000 has been raised and expended on the purchase, repair, restoration, and organization of The Papers. This project, when completed, must rank among the Society's most valued scholarly achievements. As such, it will be a unique tribute, not only to the life and work of Benjamin Henry Latrobe but also to the vision and determination of John H. B. Latrobe and many other interested citizens of this city, state, and nation.

ACCESSIONS CATALOG[21]

DATE RECEIVED	DONOR	MATERIAL
October 12, 1885	Charles H. Latrobe	Map by Benjamin Henry Latrobe: "The Susquehanna from Columbia to the Pennsylvania line thence to Havre de Grace."
May 17, 1886	John H. B. Latrobe	Commission from Governor Thomas McKean to Benjamin H. Latrobe under which his survey of the Susquehannah was made. 1801.
October 24, 1887	John H. B. Latrobe	Sketches of designs for the Library of Baltimore and the Baltimore Exchange, "by B. Henry Latrobe."
July 28, 1897	Charles H. Latrobe	Five watercolors by Benjamin Henry Latrobe: U.S. Capitol; St. John's Church, Washington, D. C.; Roman Catholic Cathedral, Baltimore; "View of the centre of the Baltimore Exchange, 1816;" Bank of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
February 20, 1918	John E. Semmes, Sr.	Two Field and Account Books, which Latrobe kept during the Susquehannah survey. August-September 1801; October-November 1801.
November 29, 1927	Raphael Semmes	Six journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1796-1816.
November 2, 1934	John Gilman Paul	164 drawings, including plans of the Baltimore waterworks and drawings by Latrobe.
February 26, 1946	Latrobe Cogswell	Pastel portrait of Latrobe as a young man. Unattributed.
March 25, 1946	Latrobe Cogswell	Journal of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Norfolk, Richmond, and Amelia County, Virginia. March 23-May 31, 1796.
		Two watercolors signed: "Bridge over the Brandywine at Downing's Town, Pa." 1801; "View of Welch Point and the Mouth of Back Creek. . . ." 1806.
November 1953	Frances Semmes	Pencil sketch of Thomas Jefferson by Benjamin Henry Latrobe.
March 20, 1954	Thomas Machen	"Message from the President . . ." (Washington, Wm. Duane and Sons, 1804), containing a report by Benjamin Henry Latrobe.
February 1956	Miss L. Hazelhurst Vinton	Sampler worked by Julia E. Latrobe, with an original poem written by Benjamin Henry Latrobe for his daughter framed on the back. 1813.
November 1956	Purchased by friends of the Society	Portrait in oil of Benjamin Henry Latrobe by Carl von Breda. 1790. Purchased in London.

1956	Estate of B. Latrobe Weston Mrs. Adrian Onderdonk	Miniature watercolor on ivory of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. *ca.* 1810. Unattributed.
December 8, 1959	Mrs. Adrian Onderdonk	"Dancing Book" compiled by Julia E. Latrobe. *ca.* 1812. With illustration and note by Benjamin Henry Latrobe.
February 1960	Mrs. Gamble Latrobe	Flute, owned by Benjamin Henry Latrobe.
1958-1960	Purchased from Mrs. Ferdinand C. Latrobe II, Baltimore	The major Latrobe collection: 14 sketchbooks, containing 310 watercolors, pen and pencil drawings and sketches; 13 journals written between 1796 and 1820; 19 letterbooks containing over 5,000 letters written by Latrobe with a polygraph.[22]
February 28, 1961	Purchased from Mrs. Gamble Latrobe, Wilmington, Delaware	Material by Benjamin Henry Latrobe: set of 4 color drawings of furniture for the White House; 4 architectural drawings for Monumental Church, Richmond; pencil sketch, "Our house in New Orleans, 1820;" watercolor, "Cyclops," attributed to Latrobe; 21 letters to his wife, Mary Latrobe; 4 letters to John H. B. Latrobe; 71 letters to Robert Goodloe Harper; 9 letters to his brother, Christian Ignatius Latrobe, and to various other correspondents; report to the Mayor and City Council of New Orleans, June 10, 1816; Dedication Hymn for St. John's Church, 1817; sketch of the courtroom at the trial of Samuel Chase, attributed to his father by John H. B. Latrobe; sketch of the Cabildo and the Cathedral, New Orleans, 1819. Material to or relating to Latrobe: 2 letters from Thomas Jefferson, 1803; letter of endorsement for work on the Baltimore Exchange, 1820; 13 letters of Mary Latrobe to Robert Goodloe Harper, 1820; 9 invitations and visiting cards received by the Latrobes in Washington; letter from Robert Smith, Secretary of the Navy, 1802[23]
August 1971	Estate of Mrs. Adrian Onderdonk (formerly Mrs. Benjamin Latrobe Weston), through the courtesy of Miss A. Hester Rich	Watercolor, "Sketch of an idea for the Monument at Richmond. . . ." 1812.

[21] This catalog contains only those items fully attributed to Benjamin Henry Latrobe and for which we have full information as to date of receipt and donor.
[22] A full description of this collection may be found in the text above.
[23] The Mrs. Gamble Latrobe collection also contains many items relating to later generations of the Latrobe family, which we have not included in this catalog.

SIDELIGHTS

CHARLES SUMNER FOR OUR TIME: AN ESSAY REVIEW

By James E. Sefton

Ten years ago David Donald published *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War,* widely acclaimed for providing fresh and lasting insight into the career of a most complex political figure. Recent publication of the sequel, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man,* which carries the controversial Massachusetts senator from 1861 to his death in 1874, affords an occasion to consider the two volumes as a single project. To do so, however, we must pass over Professor Donald's prefatory comment that the sequel is an entirely "self-contained" work which can be read without reference to the first one. His reasoning is illuminating: "Long before the events traced in this book, Sumner's personality had been permanently shaped." So we have one volume which describes "the forces that molded him" and another which describes "how a man with Sumner's ideas and motives was able to operate within the American political system." Such cleavage goes to the heart of Professor Donald's choice of method, and of his impression of Sumner. It also goes to the heart of Sumner's own self-estimate, for as his life progresses there are clear signs of a kind of calcification, not merely of personality but of intellect, and indications that his infrequent stock-taking usually ended up in reaffirmation rather than growth. Professor Donald makes it clear that he is writing "an analysis of Sumner's techniques for remaining in power, not an explanation of his motives for so doing," and that he is not presenting "an argument that [Sumner] was motivated principally by the desire for political office and power." Whatever the reader may think about the separability of "techniques" and "motives," and however helpful the flashbacks in the second volume may be, considerations of justice and understanding advise reading the two volumes together.

Professor Donald's picture of Sumner is a detailed mosaic, in which some tiles are easy to believe and others more difficult. When the first volume appeared, a favorite subject of remark,

whether favorable or unfavorable, was the psychoanalytic probing for which this biography will long be notable. Yet on balance—recognizing how tentative must be all such paper ventures into the psyche of a man dead for nearly a century—the reconstruction of Sumner's character and personality is one of the more easily acceptable areas of this work. Most of us probably know someone approximating Sumner in general pattern, if perhaps not in degree. A lonely man, totally immersed in his work, seeking to enjoin memory of his childhood and of a late and unhappy marriage, needing always to be the center of attention, insisting upon philosophical allegiance as the *sine qua non* of friendship—such a person is a very believable human character. Not that Sumner's personality never took truly unique turns: crushed by loneliness upon the marriage of his friend Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, he accompanied the honeymooners on their trip to the Catskills and read them Bossuet's funeral orations on the way. But on the whole, Professor Donald's Sumner is psychologically credible because the author usually does not venture beyond inferences which seem prudent on the basis of the available evidence.

Difficulties begin to arise when one seeks to describe the links (which, unless Sumner were a perfectly split personality, are undoubtedly there) between personality and political events. The annexation of Santo Domingo, when treated as a twenty-years-delayed sequel to the admission of Kansas, will illustrate. Sumner himself believed the cases parallel—that much is quite clear from his writings. First, he alleged that the factual situations were similar; second, he was mindful of rumors that his opposition to Santo Domingo might bring him physical violence at the hands of Executive minions. But apportioning the mental influences at work on Sumner creates a large area for doubt. How much of his course stems from his belief that the cases were parallel, and how much from objections to Santo Domingo whose validity had nothing to do with Kansas? A division of, say, 55-45 makes a very different biographical picture than one of 20-80. And whether, during his Senate speech of December 21, 1870, he was "reliving in his mind the trauma of the Brooks assault" is pure speculation. Yet it is speculation of a kind where truth or falsity of the fact is highly significant to the resulting biographical portrait—more so, probably, than the truth or falsity of other facts surrounding the same event.

Another sort of credibility gap is opened by unclear exposition or narration. One important area is Sumner's pacifism. In the 1840's he gave perorations on peace; after 1849 he drifted into other interests with the blithe comment, "One evil at a time"; in 1861 he heartily supported the war; later he opposed Lincoln's proposals for provisional military governments in the South because (allegedly "reverting more and more to his original pacifism") he thought military governments were not "republican" within the meaning of the Constitution; by 1867 this constitutional thorn was sufficiently blunt that his opposition to the Reconstruction Act arose from other considerations; in 1869 he was willing to reinstitute military control over Georgia; and at times both during and after the war his attitude toward the British was distinctly bellicose. In comparison to the philosophical charger of anti-slavery, pacifism seems to be a hobbyhorse with a propensity for carting Sumner off on long meanders, and Professor Donald has not drawn a clear enough trail map. Perhaps the one topic running through both volumes in which Professor Donald's exposition is most consistently unclear is the intricacies of Massachusetts politics. General outlines can be discerned, but details are often hazy.

Some of the less credible areas of the portrait stem not from vagueness on Sumner's part, nor from difficulties with Professor Donald's methodology or exposition, but rather from Sumner's position being simply inconceivable. These are mostly in matters of constitutional interpretation. How anyone could believe, even in an era presenting as much curious constitutional philosophy as Sumner's did, that "nothing against slavery can be unconstitutional"; that "the New England system of common schools is a part of the republican form of government as understood by the framers of the Constitution"; that Congress derives any legislative power from the Declaration of Independence; that Congress "is a Court of Equity, *bound* [italics added] to supply deficiences in the existing law, to enjoin against threatening wrong, and generally to see justice done in spite of technicalities"; or that the Tenth Amendment had somehow acquired an unwritten clause permitting states to keep their reserved powers "only on good behavior and at the sufferance of Congress," is difficult to see.

Perhaps because of the ten-year difference in publication dates, or perhaps because of the nature of Reconstruction issues,

the second volume is more present-minded than the first. Although Sumner could be just as obstinate, petulant, and domineering as Andrew Johnson, the criticism of Sumner is milder and restricted to tactical matters, since Sumner's motives and goals were ones we approve in our time. The preface leaves no doubt: "I do indeed believe that the postwar years formed a tragic era—tragic in the sense that we failed to adopt Sumner's principles and failed to reconstruct our whole society on the basis of equal rights for all." It is natural, too, that when we as twentieth century liberals narrate the liberality of our nineteenth century philosophical ancestors we are not tuned in to those things which, if our neighbors said them, we would hoot down. Consider the following, in which Professor Donald excerpts without remark: "When the bars of caste were lifted, the Negroes would exhibit their basic racial traits of 'simplicity, amenity, good-nature, generousity [*sic*], fidelity,' and these, when added to the 'more precocious and harder' characteristics of white Americans, would result in a civilization where 'men will not only know and do, but they will feel also.' " Sumner was lecturing on "The Question of Caste" to New England audiences in the winter of 1869-70. He could decry segregation and discrimination, while still accepting as fact the notions on which any system of caste must depend. If there is any major question at all, anywhere in these two volumes, which Professor Donald has failed to ask his subject, it is whether the Senator might not have shared a few of the anthropological beliefs of ante-bellum slavery advocates.

Sumner's correspondence was voluminous, and it especially influenced his view of the postwar South. But apparently Sumner never recognized that the prominence and extremity of his views shaped the mail he received. It would have been a waste of a postage stamp for a Southern Democrat complaining about Republican election frauds to address Sumner. He was a voracious reader, and his erudition and rhetoric gives an impression of breadth of information; but one sometimes suspects that Sumner's political communion was more monkish ceremony than ecumenical experience.

Southern affairs are an obvious part of the second volume. But readers will find it refreshing that domestic matters are not permitted to eclipse foreign policy. Except for wartime imbroglios with Britain, and the French transactions in Mexico, most

of our diplomatic headaches of these years have received unsatisfying attention from historians. Professor Donald's work goes a long way toward remedying the deficiency. And happily, it is not the sort of foolscap diplomatic history which merely paragraphs up drafts of despatches; but rather, tug-of-power diplomatic history which highlights men as individuals and as representatives of executive or legislative institutions. Seen in this light, events take on much richer dimensions. Sumner's patronizing attitude toward Grant starts out in 1869 much like Seward's early attitude toward Lincoln, but becomes far more acrimonious and destructive. The Senator's relations with Secretary of State Hamilton Fish are clearly shown to have had both personal and institutional significance. They culminated in Sumner's ouster as Foreign Relations Committee chairman "because of the smoldering resentment of Hamilton Fish's outraged ego." Grant assisted with the project so that he might shuffle party leadership "just as he had once reconstituted the high command of the Army of the Potomac," and Senate Republicans pitched in so that the debts of twenty years might be savoringly paid. The reader may think the removal heartily deserved, though Professor Donald stops short of saying so.

There are some excellent symbolic descriptions. To think of Grant and Sumner living on opposite sides of Lafayette Square, the one strolling around the park from the White House to shake his fist at the Boston malefactor's lair, the other standing on his porch roaring adieu to his late-stayers with tales of presidential perfidy, is to appreciate more about the times than just two disputatious personalities. As for characterizations of Sumner himself, we have his uncontrollable joy at the death of Chief Justice Taney, or his hasty abandonment of Baron Gerolt's dinner table to quash any feeling of pity for another guest, left penniless and broken by the war. Caring was a one-way street, along which others were to come to him, but not he to them. Perhaps Sumner himself hit the nail on the head: "I, long since, ceased to take any interest in *individuals*." Or as Professor Donald puts it, "he preferred to deal with categories rather than with men," an attitude which made Sumner no different from most political leaders of his time. There is more than just common usage or semantics in the title's employment of the corporate singular "Rights of Man" rather than the individualistic plural "Rights of Men."

"Between the age of Thomas Jefferson and that of Woodrow Wilson," says Professor Donald, "Sumner was the one American who had equal claim for distinction in the world of the intellect and the world of politics." However that encomium may be, Sumner's intellectual brilliance and his political opportunities are clear. Perhaps, however, in Reconstruction he failed his greatest challenge: that of prescribing the right political medicine for the right intellectual malaise. This is not to conclude that he alone failed, or that we can now identify a better prescription than the one the leaders of the time applied and predict its more certain success. It is only to remark upon an aspect of current Reconstruction historiography. We are saying, and with good effect, that the "central" problem of Reconstruction was race relations. In short, the racial history of Reconstruction and its aftermath is the history of how pure hatred became dominant over other lesser degrees of discrimination. This story is as much intellectual history as political—and the intellectual history of Reconstruction has not been extensively explored. As much as we may talk about being liberated from the "Dunning school," we are still quite strongly under the influence of their heavily political approach. Sumner is an important figure in the intellectual history of Reconstruction, and these two monumental volumes are a welcome contribution. Professor Donald's Sumner is Charles Sumner for our time.

NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

By Nancy G. Boles, Curator of Manuscripts

PROTECTION OF IMPORTANT LETTERS

During this past summer, the Maryland Historical Society undertook a project to safeguard further the manuscripts in its care. The Manuscript Division is committed to a dual purpose—preservation and service to readers. Attempts to meet this goal include our procedures of boxing, foldering, labeling, and cataloging collections. Individually foldered manuscripts are better protected and easier to use. Also we have undertaken an extensive restoration program—often aided by the generous donations of both individuals and patriotic societies. The result is that more and more of our torn, crumbling, brittle or fading manuscripts are being deacidified and laminated to prevent further deterioration and to make them safe to handle—an invaluable service for both present and future historians.

Now we have completed a program to make even more sure that the manuscripts of prominent individuals in our possession will always be available to serious researchers. Mr. Anthony J. Gonzales, a senior history major at Towson State College and our manuscripts assistant, has performed most of the painstaking search for our "famous letters."

Given the fact that manuscripts of key figures in history command fantastic and extravagant prices in auctions and dealers' catalogues, any manuscript repository must be increasingly alert and cautious to guard against possible theft. For our part then, in addition to our regular precautions, the Manuscript Division at the Society has removed from our collections all letters and documents written or signed by Presidents, patriots, and literary, religious or political figures and replaced the invaluable originals with a clear and readable xerox copy.

The deterrent is obvious; a photocopy is totally worthless to the would-be thief but at the same time is perfectly satisfactory for researchers. Unlike transcriptions which can be in error, a xerox assures the scholar that he is reading the exact words of

the writer. In rare circumstances when a historian must consult the document itself, the original can easily be produced from locked storage, but normally a xerox photocopy will be sufficient and very often more readable than the original.

The Maryland Historical Society might seem an unlikely repository for many of the letters in its possession. As we pulled these documents of famous individuals from widely scattered collections, we discovered some fascinating correspondence. Who would have imagined that the Society had a key letter from Patrick Henry written on January 9, 1797, to Col. John Syme of Hanover in which he explains his controversial reentry into politics late in life and his apparent shift to the right in political ideology. Henry is an enigmatic figure, whose place in history is made more difficult to assess because so few of his letters and speeches survive. In this intriguing letter Henry defends his actions: "I hear of great clamour & noise of my turning Tory—The Whigs are offended & Torys rejoice at my apostasy—The Question is, have not these Whigs as they call themselves apostasized? I think they & the Torys have both changed sides, as it often happens in blind Scuffles."

John Adams is another Revolutionary hero whose correspondence might be unexpected at the Society. Yet of our more than a dozen Adams' letters, perhaps the most quotable and characteristic is that to Baltimorean Hezekiah Niles on February 13, 1818: "But what do We mean by the American Revolution? Do we mean the American War? The Revolution was effected before the War commenced. The Revolution was in the Minds and Hearts of the People. A change in their Religious Sentiments of their Duties and obligations. . . ."

In our extensive search we located letters we did not know we had—correspondence of key figures in our history in collections which have no national importance otherwise. This then was one very valuable part of our project. We gathered all letters of important individuals into one central place, and listed, catalogued and cross referenced them. Certainly they will be easier to find and harder to lose now that a comprehensive inventory has been made.

We know now, as we did not before, that we have exactly sixty-three Daniel Webster letters, seventy-eight Robert Morris, forty-three Jefferson, and twenty-two with George Washington's valuable signature. The Society has one letter each of Benjamin

Franklin, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Robert Fulton, Alexander Graham Bell, William Penn, Susan B. Anthony, Samuel Clemens, the redoubtable Barbara Fritchie—and even Europeans like Jules Verne, Rudyard Kipling, and Adam Smith. Frontier heroes are also represented, for the Society has not one but two rare Davy Crockett letters—each to his publisher, Cary & Hart, the latest formally signed "David Crockett."

Our inventory shows at least one letter from each President except Franklin Pierce, Andrew Johnson, Rutherford B. Hayes, Chester A. Arthur, Benjamin Harrison, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Lyndon B. Johnson. (We would be most grateful for any donation of letters helping to complete this interesting set). Letters removed for safekeeping include those of the following literary, political, or religious figures: Louis Agassiz, Francis Asbury, George Bancroft, Benjamin Banneker, Betsy Patterson Bonaparte, Aaron Burr, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Richard Henry Dana, Albert Gallatin, Horace Greely, Alexander Hamilton, Washington Irving, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, Devereux Jarratt, Henry Knox, Benjamin H. Latrobe, Richard Henry Lee, Robert E. Lee, John Marshall, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon of boundary line fame, Christopher Morley, Edmund Pendleton, Joseph Priestly, and John Randolph.

Another benefit reaped from this project has been the discovery that many of these letters from influential figures were deteriorating. We have checked each letter carefully and have sent about two-fifths to be restored.

We feel this project meets our dual purpose well; by ensuring the physical safety of the original manuscripts we benefit scholars. A stolen or deteriorated document is usually lost forever to researchers. Of course the Maryland Historical Society previously had strict procedures for preventing theft, but these new precautions are practically foolproof. Hopefully perspective donors will feel even more comfortable about presenting manuscripts to the Society for safekeeping and use. We are always interested in receiving collections of papers—large or small, of famous statesmen or common men—and are very grateful for any financial assistance to help in our continuous work in restoration and preservation.

A further form of safeguard, that of microfilming, will be described in the next article.

ACCESSIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF *MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY*[1] IN AUGUST, 1968.

III

Hartman, Alfred Z., "Methodism in Baltimore and Vicinity" (MS. 1739). Ms. history of the Methodist church in Maryland, 1770-1912, stressing Baltimore and Methodist schools and colleges; 1 vol., c. 1912. Deposit.

Hoffman Family Papers (MS. 1743). Land papers, deeds, and leases, legal papers, wills, bills for slave purchases, and militia appointments concerning William Hoffman, Sr. and Jr., and Henry Hoffman and a few items relating to St. Peter's Lutheran Church; 87 items, 1770-1869. On deposit from Mrs. Clayton Seitz.

Hollingsworth Letters (MS. 1849). Family and personal correspondence of the Hollingsworth and Tobin families, with a little business correspondence from Thomas and Samuel Hollingsworth; 113 items, 1802-37. Donor: Not known.

Holloway, Samuel Stump, Family Papers (MS. 1676). Personal correspondence of Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Stump Holloway of Harford County. Also letters from Pennsylvania Quakers discussing personal life and religious matters; 2 boxes, 1875-95. Donor: Estate of Joseph L. Hughes.

Hoskins, Cheyney, Collection (MS. 1761). Two ledgers containing farm and road repair accounts (for Hoskins was appointed Harford County Road Supervisor), weather notes, etc. Also personal correspondence; 2 vols. and 21 items, 1847-87. Donor: Mrs. William S. Ryan.

Hughes, Dr. George, Collection (MS. 1786). Ledgers of a Frederick County doctor listing patients, treatments prescribed and charges; 3 vols., 1819-c. 1855. Donor: Dr. H. Hanford Hopkins.

Hughes, Joseph, Harford County Collection (MS. 1675). Material collected by Joseph L. Hughes including alphabetical file of original source material, Harford County land docu-

[1] Indexed listing and description of 1724 of the Society's collections. Available from the Society for $15.00.

ments, articles or notes by Hughes on Harford County history; 9 boxes, c. 1660-1965. Donor: Estate of Joseph L. Hughes.

Hughes, Judge Samuel, Docket (MS. 1775). Court docket of this Washington County justice for October term, 1805, which includes partial list of cases for 1799-1804; 1 vol., 1799-1805. Donor: Johns Hopkins University Library.

Industrial Bureau Surveys (MS. 1503.1). Series of surveys (including photographs, maps, harbor charts, distribution data, housing and labor statistics) on the port of Baltimore as the location for business and industry; 9 vols., 1926-51. Donor: Not known.

Jackson, Leonora, (McKim) Collection (MS. 1780). Scrapbooks, diaries, programs, reviews, etc., concerning Leonora Jackson, American violinist; 21 vols. and 3 boxes, 1852-58 and 1890-1931. Donor: Estate of Leonora Jackson (McKim).

Johns Hopkins Playshop (MS. 1658). Records of this university dramatics club until it disbanded including minutes, programs, clippings, membership files, etc.; 1 vol. and 6 files, 1923-65. Donor: Mrs. Richard Hart.

Johnson, Baker, Letters (MS. 1656). Family correspondence of Baker Johnson, a Frederick, Md. lawyer, and a letter from William Lux on the price of slaves; 13 items, 1773-1809. Donor: Missess Violet W. and Catherine Jennings Hoff.

Johnson, Reverdy, Collection (MS. 1840). Scrapbooks containing clippings and copies of documents on various aspects of his legal career and his death. Also 4 boxes of his political, legal, & personal correspondence; 6 boxes, 1818-76. Donor: E. Ridgeley Simpson.

Johnston, Christopher, Papers (MS. 1695). Legal papers concerning trials, deeds, miscellaneous letters; 33 items, 1710-1812. Donor: Dr. Christopher Johnston VI.

Jones Dorchester County Land Papers (MS. 1744). Miscellaneous Dorchester County land documents and wills; 78 items, 1721-1891. Donor: Miss Ruth Jones.

Jones-Hollyday Papers (MS. 1717). Business and family correspondence of two Queen Anne's County families, including tobacco accounts; 7 items, 1749-1819. Donor: Not known.

Joppa Court House Petitions (MS. 1707). Petitions to Gov. Horatio Sharpe concerning the removal of the Baltimore County Court House from Joppa; 10 items, 1769. Donor: Not known.

Juvenile Polemical Society Minutes (MS. 1660). Constitution, by-laws, minutes, favorite songs, and a list of members; 1 vol., 1820-22. Donor: Not known.

Kahn, Florence Ring, Papers (MS. 1518). Papers of this Baltimore playwright and poetess. Scrapbooks, letters, awards, scripts. Also material relating to the opening of the B & O Transportation Museum; 2 vols. and 52 items, 1930-53, 1964. Donor: Estate of Mrs. Howard Kahn.

Keating Family Letters (MS. 1718). Family correspondence (including descriptions of Annapolis social life in the 1880's and the effect of the Civil War on Maryland) of the Keating family of Queen Anne's County; 54 items, 1855-96. Donor: Not known.

Kelley, William J., "Federal Hill Story" (MS. 1692). Notes and chapters for a book on industries located in the Federal Hill section of Baltimore with maps and area sketches; c.50 items, 1757-1965. Donor: Estate of William J. Kelley.

Kenly, John R., Facsimiles (MS. 1696). Facsimiles of letters (from Reverdy Johnson, Gov. Thomas Hicks, etc.) and commissions of United General John R. Kenly of Baltimore; 9 items, 1861-72. Donor: Not known.

Kent County School Register (MS. 1708). Register of attendance and grades for Kent County School No. 3 from 1880-82 for 4th and 5th grades and some deeds, plats, etc., belonging to the Frisby family of Kent County; 1 vol. and 21 items, 1855-84. Purchase.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES

By Mary K. Meyer

The copying of gravestone inscriptions is an old and interesting hobby, engaged in by the curioso and the maudlin as well as by the genealogist. As early as 1806 a slim volume entitled *Memoirs of the Dead and Tomb's Rembrancer* was published in Baltimore. The name of the author is unknown but we do know that he or she covered a great deal of territory in the search.

Just one hundred years later, in 1906 The Maryland Original Research Society was formed for the purpose of copying and publishing public and private records. In each of the three volumes of its publication, 1906-1913, there appeared a series under the fanciful title, *Memorial Marbles of Maryland.* For the most part this series consisted of cemetery inscriptions copied from the Eastern Shore area of Maryland.

In 1908, Helen W. Ridgely published her, *Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia.* While both the *Tomb's Rembrancer* and the *Publications* of the Original Research Society remain very rare, Mrs. Ridgely's work was reprinted in 1967 by the Genealogical Publishing Company of Baltimore and is now widely available.

Perhaps the most persevering copiers of cemetery inscriptions are the Daughters of the American Revolution. In the early days of their project, the Daughters copied cemeteries at random and often only a few stones in a given cemetery. These were typed and two carbon copies were made. One copy was sent to National Headquarters in Washington, D.C., one copy was given to either the Hall of Records in Annapolis or the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore and the third copy was generally placed in a local repository.

With the election of Mrs. Irvin C. Brown as Chairman of the Maryland State Genealogical Records Committee and continuing under the succeeding chairmanship of Mrs. Minnie V. Motsinger, a more thorough coverage of individual cemeteries and areas was instituted. Mrs. Brown prepared an *Index of* [Maryland] *Tombstones Records* which had been included in volumes 1 through 30 of the *Maryland Genealogical Records.* This *In-*

dex was published in the *Bulletin of the Maryland Genealogical Society,* January, 1962, Vol. 3, p. 7. It should be noted that this index is not a surname index but rather of cemeteries by name and county. It should also be noted that the DAR series, *Maryland Genealogical Records* is not a published work, but rather a typescript. Inquires concerning these volumes should be made to the DAR Library, 1776 D Street, Washington, D.C.

The present trend in copying cemetery inscriptions is much more ambitious. The DAR Chapter in Washington County typed and indexed seven volumes of inscriptions originally copied by Samuel Piper Webster, and it is probably the most thorough coverage of any county in the state. DAR Chapters in Harford, Cecil, Carroll, and Montgomery counties have each prepared one or more volumes of inscriptions from their own counties. The Marlborough Towne Chapter will publish a volume of *Tombstone Inscriptions of Southern Anne Arundel County* in the fall of 1971.

Jacob Mehrling Holdcraft copied and published a two volume work, *Names in Stone* in 1966. This work purports to be the inscriptions from every cemetery in Frederick County, Maryland with the exception of Negro burial grounds. However, some Negro burials are included.

More recently some of the local historical societies have taken up the work. The Dorchester County Historical Society, under the direction of Nellie M. Marshall, published a volume of *Tombstone Records of Dorchester County, Maryland, 1678-1964,* in 1965. It is difficult to assess the thoroughness of this work except to say that the work consists of 263 pages, single spaced plus a complete index.

For the past year a group from the Baltimore County Historical Society, under the direction of Robert W. Barnes, one of the more able genealogists and heraldists of the area, has been hard at work copying inscriptions from the old and abandoned cemeteries in their county. This group is copying inscriptions from both Caucasian and Negro cemeteries. To date over 20 per cent of the county cemeteries have been copied. As the work proceeds mimeograph copies of the compilations are made and will be placed in a few selected libraries. Ultimately the completed work will be published and made available to all interested persons.

A new organization in the field, The Prince George's County Genealogical Society, Bowie, Maryland, has also initiated a plan to copy the inscriptions in that county. However, we have not had a recent report on their progress.

Any inquiries concerning the projects of the various DAR chapters or local historical societies, should be made directly to those organizations rather than to the Maryland Historical Society. It should be further noted that the staff of the Maryland Historical Society cannot search individual lists for a name. Readers are urged to visit the library if at all possible and make their own search.

RECENT GENEALOGICAL GIFTS

The Albany Protocol: Wilhelm Christoph Berkenmeyer's Chronicle of Lutheran Affairs in New York Colony, 1731-1750. ed. by John P. Dern. Ann Arbor, 1971. From J. P. Dern, Redwood City, Calif. Pp. 643. $12.50.

American Reference Books Annual 1971. Bohdan S. Wynar, editor, Littleton, Col.; Libraries Unlimited, Inc., pp. 603. (Contains reviews, including several on genealogy.) $19.75.

Ancestors and Descendants of Jarrett Mutchner, Randolph & Wayne Counties, Indiana, Darke County, Ohio. Compiled by Carl H. Hawkins. Richmond, Ind. 1971. Pp. 17.

The Ancestry and Posterity of Matthew Clarkson (1664-1702). Compiled by J. Robert T. Craine. Ed. by Harry W. Hazard. The Compiler. Pp. 599. n.p.

Background of a Bandit: the Ancestry of Jesse James. By Joan M. Beamis and William E. Pullen. 2nd ed. Hollywood, Fla., 1971. Pp. 86.

Bible Records of Dorchester County, Maryland, 1612-1969. Compiled by Nellie M. Marshall. And *Baptismal and Marriage Records, 1855-1866, Zion United Methodist Church, Cambridge, Md.* Cambridge: Dorchester County Historical Soc., 1971. Pp. 120.

Claypoole Family in America: excerpts from "Descendants of Nathaniel Claypool" (pp. 26-45) and "Descendants of Joseph Claypool" (pp. 49-151). Indiana, Pa.: Mrs. E. P. Bracken, 1971. $5.00.

Copper for America: The Hendricks Family and a National Industry. By Maxwell Whiteman. New Brunswick: Rutger U.P., 1971. Pp. 353. $12.50.

The Family History of Charles Wesley Jordan of Georgia. By John Wesley Russey, Jr. San Antonio, 1971. Pp. 24.

Federal Population and Mortality Census Schedules, 1790-1890, in the National Archives and the States: Outline of a Lecture on Their Availability, Content, and Use. Compiled by W. Neil Franklin. National Archives, D.C., 1971. Pp. 89.

Fooks Family. By Herbert C. Fooks. 1953. Repr.: Salisbury, Wicomico Historical Soc. Pp. 458. $15.80.

A Givens-Hall Family History From Pre-Revolutionary Times to 1970. Compiled by Dorothy Hall Givens. Radford, Va.: Commonwealth Press. 1971. Pp. 702. $16.00.

Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790. New York. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co. 1971. Pp. 308. $12.50.

Heraldry. By Julian Franklin. New York: A. S. Barnes. 1968. Pp. 103. $8.50.

Heraldry Explained. Intro. by L. G. Pine. By Arthur Charles Fox-Davies. reissue of 1925 ed. Rutland: Tuttle. 1971. Pp. 126. $4.50.

History of Balser Hess, 1747-1806 and Descendants. Compiled by Frank E. Hess. Nappamee. 1950. Pp. 144.

History of North Carolina, 1584-1925. By Samuel D'A Ashe. 2 vols. repr. Spartanburg: Reprint Co. 1971. Pp. 739, 1449. $25.00.

Index to 1840 Federal Population Census in Ohio. Vol. 3. Compiled by Cleo G. Wilkins. Fort Wayne, Ind. The Compiler. Pp. 612. $25.00.

The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. By Elias Ashemole. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co. 1971. Pp. 720. & app. $50.00.

Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England & Wales. By Arthur Meredith Burke. Repr. Pp. 163. $7.50.

Keyt to Southern Pedigrees. Ed. by William Armstrong Crozier. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co. 1971. Pp. 81. $6.50.

A List of New England Bibliographies. By Seymour Russell Library, Middletown, Conn. $1.

List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and of the Marine Corps from 1775-1900. Ed. by Edward W. Callahan. repr. New York: Haskell House. 1969. Pp. 750. $24.95.

Lutheran Church in New York and New Jersey, 1722-1760. Lutheran records in the Ministerial Archives of the Staatsarchiv, Hamburg, Germany. Tr. by S. Hart and H. J. Kreider. New York: United Luthern Synod of New York and New England. 1962. Pp. 418.

Marriages of Campbell County, Virginia, 1782-1810. Compiled by L. H. M. Baber and L. H. Williamson, Lynchburg.: Blue Ridge Chapter, N.S.D.A.R. Pp. 184. $10.00.

Mayflower Descendants and Their Marriages for Two Generations After the Landing. By John T. Landis. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1971. Pp. 37. $5.00.

National Society Daughters of the American Colonists. Lineage Book. Vol. 15, 14001-15000. Compiled by Josephine W. Vincent. The Society, 1971. Pp. 421.

New Homes in a new land: German immigration to Texas, 1847-1861. By Ethel Hander Geue. Waco. 1970. Pp. 166. $750.

Passenger Arrivals 1819-1820. A transcript of the List of Passengers Who Arrived in the United States from 1819 to 1820. With an added index. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co. 1971. Pp. 342. $13.50.

Prominent Families in America with British Ancestry. (Repr. from Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1939.) New York, British Book Center. 1971. Pp. 495. $25.00.

The Russey Family in America .A Genealogy of James Russey, 1755-1970. 2nd ed. rev. enl. by George S. Russey. San Antonio. 1970. John Wesley Russey, Jr. Pp. 262. $12.50.

Scots Heraldry . . . By Sir Thomas Innes of Learney. Reissue of 2nd ed. 1956. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co. 1971. Pp. 258. $10.00.

Shipleys of Maryland 1968. A study of the descendants of Adam Shipley, of Yorkshire, England, who came to Annapolis, Maryland in 1668.

The Sineath Family and Affiliated Family Lineages. By William Rudolph Bauer. Columbia. The Author. 1970. Pp. 379. $25.00.

V. and H. V. Rolland's Supplement to the Armorial General. By J. B. Rietstap. Vols. 7-9. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co. 1971. (This completes the 9-vol. set costing $150.00).

Virginia Marriages, 1700-1799. By Cecil D. McDonald. Seattle.

Virginia Tax Payers 1782-1787, other than those published by the United States Census Bureau. By Augusta B. Fothergill and John M. Naugle. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1971. $10.00.

Washington Directory, Showing the Name, Occupation and Residence, of Each Head of a Family & Person in Business . . . Washington 1827. Reproduced by R. L. Polk. Richmond. 1971. Pp. 107.

Westmoreland Records. Ed. by William A. Crozier. Virginia County Records, N.S., v. 1. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1971. 110. $7.50.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonization Society 1831-1857. By Penelope Campbell. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971. Pp. vi, 264. $7.95.)

Until the death of Paul Cuffe (Negro) in 1816 the black community had looked with favor and with some pride on his commercial and emigrationist interest in Africa. As whites—with mixed motives—took up the plan for aiding American free Negroes to go to Africa, the blacks generally retreated for a time to an adamant opposition to expatriation. The efforts of the American Colonization Society and its affiliates, whether motivated by idealism or opportunism, proved less than effective in persuading any substantial number of free blacks to look upon Africa as their future home.

Maryland, with a relatively large free Negro population, a central location, and with capable whites willing to provide leadership for the movement, would naturally play a significant part in the "back to Africa" effort. After a decade and a half of fretting under the aegis of the American Colonization Society, these Marylanders chose to go it alone and to establish "Maryland in Liberia" which maintained a precarious position for a quarter of a century before merging with the stronger settlement sponsored by the parent society at Monrovia.

Professor Campbell has detailed the record of Maryland's independent action stretching from 1831 to 1857, culminating in the near destruction of the colony at the hands of hostile Africans before union with Liberia. While her account emphasizes the economic and the administrative, the human side of the problem—both black and white—is never forgotten. And the record comes in large part from the papers of the Maryland Colonization Society.

How these records could have remained known but practically untouched in the Maryland Historical Society for so many years is difficult to explain. One factor involved is the animosity of the abolitionist community toward any effort at exploitation of the African heritage by American blacks. This animosity materially weakened in the 1850's as blacks such as Martin R. Delany, Henry Highland Garnet, William Lambert and James Theodore Holly looked beyond the borders of the United States to establish a Negro nation. Nevertheless, with the coming of the American Civil War and a generation of pro-abolitionist chroniclers, the historians tended to downgrade both the idealism of some colonizationists and the success of the colonization effort in creating a viable government for blacks and by blacks in Africa.

Only with the surge of Black Nationalism in the 1950's and 1960's has it become acceptable to search into the facts and the motives of colonization. Professor Campbell does not seek to present colonization as either particularly desirable or successful. A quarter of a century of effort netted roughly 900 colonists at an expense of a half million dollars by the time of the merger. It is a fascinating study, but the author's emphasis on economics and administration leaves the door open for numerous other studies from this rich collection of material. Fortunately, the records of the Maryland Colonization Society have now been published by Rhistoric of Philadelphia, with an introduction by Dr. Benjamin A. Quarles.

Morgan State College HOWARD H. BELL

Carl Becker on History and the American Revolution. By Robert E. Brown. (East Lansing, Mich.: The Spartan Press, 1970. Pp. x, 285. $7.50.)

Robert E. Brown's book is at once an intellectual biography of Carl Becker and a cautionary tale for our time. It is appropriate therefore to judge Brown's work by two standards, as history and as polemic.

To write biography successfully, it is usually necessary for the author to develop some empathy if not sympathy for his subject. A biographer must have a certain tolerance for human failings and a willingness to view his subject's shortcomings as consequences of weakness rather than wickedness if he is to understand his material. Brown, however, has writen an intolerant account. Brown believes that only a charlatan could adopt a philosophy of subjective relativism. He is convinced that historical interpretations as well as historical "facts" are solidly embedded "out there," and he unhesitatingly distinguishes between "true" and "false" interpretations of the body of documentary evidence. It follows that an historian who is exposed to the evidence and nonetheless chooses the "false" interpretation is not simply misguided but downright dishonest. Becker was a subjective relativist and his view of colonial society was "false." Brown therefore analyzes his writings without compassion, detachment, or moderation and attacks every line relentlessly in the manner of a pugnacious attorney browbeating an opposition witness.

Brown's hostility proves disfunctional, for it leaves him unable to deal with numerous "contradictions" in Becker's writings which a more sympathetic reader might see as evidence of Becker's essential reasonableness and balance. In particular, Brown is puzzled by the repeated recurrence in Becker's work of what he calls "the old progressive contradiction" (p. 265n). Becker's famous thesis, that the

American Revolution involved a struggle over who should rule at home as well as a struggle for home rule, assumed the presence of elements of aristocracy and class conflict in colonial society. Yet Becker cheerfully admits that there were notable elements of democracy present as well and would concede that the society of colonial America was the most democratic in the eighteenth century world. Brown finds this to be an inexplicable contradiction. He feels Becker should either have followed the "facts," admitting that colonial society was democratic or have concealed the democratic evidence in order to demonstrate the existence of aristocracy. He cannot understand why Becker constantly risked exposure of the "falsity" of his aristocratic thesis by incautiously citing documentary evidence. Readers less hostile to Becker may be less troubled by the apparent paradox. Why may not the most democratic society of the eighteenth century world include much that was aristocratic? The smallest elephant in the circus is still a sizable animal and remarkably mild Siberian winters are still a bit on the chilly side.

Brown's tendency to polarize viewpoints and to see differences of opinion on matters of interpretation in moral terms confuses his analysis of Becker's thought. But the same practices that flaw his history may be useful in polemical writing. How, then, does Brown's book shape up as a tale for our time?

"In the twilight of uncertainty that confronts us," Brown writes, "the career of Carl Becker could well serve as a beacon light" (p. v). He tells a story that is somber and dramatic. The hero, Carl Becker, a small-town farm boy with "considerable intellectual talent but not talent directed toward the career of historian, (p. 2) went off to the University of Wisconsin in the last decade of the nineteenth century and fell under the spell of 'Old Freddie Turner' " (p. 3). He wrote two term papers for Professor Turner in which his conclusions followed from the evidence, showing that Becker "could be detached or objective in his research and thinking at this early stage of his career" (p. 11). But soon "the negative influences of Turner" became more important to Becker than the positive ones. Turner opened two doors to his young student: "he could continue as a scholarly historian" or "he could walk through the door of subjective relativism which Turner had left ajar" (p. 12). By 1907, when he submitted his famous doctoral dissertation, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776,* Becker had made the fateful choice.

In writing his dissertation Becker found that good scholarly use of evidence would not support the thesis he was propounding, so he cynically indulged in "a deliberate falsification of the record" (p. 39). "One would like to believe that it was an honest mistake,"

writes Brown, "but the evidence says otherwise. . . . Becker had to have an undemocratic New York Society or he had no thesis, and [so] . . . he created the impression of having used original documentation when, in fact, the documentation annihilated his thesis" (p. 39). By failing to check his student's citations thoroughly, Turner allowed Becker "to prostitute scholarship" (p. 40). Becker was thus confirmed in his wickedness and "his first published article in 1899 on nominating conventions [an extension of the term paper research project] proved to be his last real scholarly work on American history" (p. 92). Becker "abandoned scholarship, where the historian tested his generalizations by the logic of his evidence, and became a publicist or propagandist who virtually eliminated objective facts in the interests of a progressive cause," (p. 92) and he developed a hearty "contempt" for those who followed "the accepted canons of scholarship" (pp. 97-98).

Now thoroughly corrupted, the young Ph.D. set out to corrupt his fellow historians and ultimately the American intellectual community as a whole. Cleverly, he accepted academic appointments in European history while doing most of his publishing in American history. Thus he saved himself from the danger of being unmasked by critical graduate students trained in early American history, while his urbane literary style seduced the minds of non-specialists.

The years passed; Becker published and prospered. Then the decade of the twenties, "which ended in the stock market crash and depression also culminated in Becker's selection as president of the American Historical Association" (p. 137). The third catastrophe meant the triumph of Becker's class-struggle interpretation of the American Revolution and for his underlying philosophy of history. Both were vicious, for they "must inevitably lead to complete anarchy and the disintegration of the democratic system . . . or to some kind of military dictatorship" (p. 130). Becker's sinister influence continued to grow throughout the thirties despite some shocking scandal as he "skated close to the thin ice of communism" (chap. VII). Becker slyly covered himself by repeatedly denouncing Communism, but the damning fact was inescapable "his position on the left continued to merit the approval of socialists and liberals" (p. 183).

In the late thirties, however, "the seeds of progressive history" bore fruit. The fruit was the rise of Fascism in Europe and Becker "as much as any other American historian . . . was responsible for the harvest" (p. 208). The world events that developed in "the climate of opinion which he had labored so long to create" (p. 209) led Becker to a profound soul-searching. "Realizing the harm that his teaching and writing had done, he spent his last years attempting

to rebuild what he had so effectively destroyed over a long academic career" (p. 209). Brown concludes by lavishly praising Becker's "courage" in repudiating his life's work, only regretting that the repudiation was so equivocal that no one before Brown has been able fully to appreciate how, in the years after his retirement from Cornell, "the elderly historian seemed to be attempting to atone for the mistakes that he had made and to warn others not to commit the same errors" (p. 247).

This story appears to be intended as a warning to scholars tempted by the neo-Beckerism of the New Left, for those who would use "past revolutions as justification for future social change," (p. v), and for those encouraging "demonstrations and draft-card burning" (p. 128). But the effective moral of the tale does not seem to be what Brown planned. Although Brown says that Becker warned others against following his example, the lesson of his life, as Brown tells it, might well be stated thus: "Abandon scholarly standards. Become a cynical, unprincipled, hypocrite of an historian. Write propaganda to support anarchy or totalitarianism. Do these things and ye shall earn professional accolades, wealth, and an old age in which you may make full confession of your life of sin without in any way dimming your fame, lessening the influence of your work, or diminishing the universal esteem in which you are held."

It appears that whether the book is judged as history or polemic, Brown has missed his mark. And there is, moreover, a strange paradox in Brown's volume, for he has written this polemical history to denounce the writing of polemical history. One might almost conclude that he intended the book to self-destruct.

The George Washington University LINDA GRANT DE PAUW

Anglo-American Political Relations, 1675-1775. Edited by Alison Gilbert Olson and Richard Maxwell Brown (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970. Pp. 283. $10.00.)

A collection of essays and monographs roughly related to a central theme is always a hazardous enterprise. Occasionally, it justifies itself by honoring the contributions of a distinguished scholar or by commemorating a special event. In these circumstances the customary unevenness of content and style is less important than the fact of celebration; such writings call attention to the man or the occasion rather than assume individual characters for themselves. When a book is developed from papers presented to an academic convention—in this case, the Twentieth Conference on Early American History at Rutgers University in the fall of 1966—the results should be commensurate with the efforts. Collectively, the articles in this vol-

ume do not meet these expectations. But then the Rutgers University Press did publish it as part of the bicentenary of the founding of the university; and it is indeed fitting that among the contributors are leading younger scholars in colonial American history, many of them specialists in the period of Rutgers' birth.

The essays, edited by Professors Olson and Brown, both former members of Rutgers' staff, attempt to evaluate Charles McLean Andrews' focus upon Anglo-American politics two generations ago in the light of contemporary scholarship. Where Andrews was concerned primarily with the imperial structure as seen from Whitehall, the authors stress variations on Namierite politics in America as well as in Britain. David Alan Williams and Stanley Nider Katz in dealing with eighteenth-century Virginia and New York, respectively, point to the intimate relations of Americas politicians with their English counterparts as means of acquiring and securing power. John Shy evaluates the roles of colonial governors as individuals in their own right rather than as puppets of the colonial legislatures or of Parliament. Thomas Pownall's strengths and limitations are admirably drawn in his essay. Other authors look to new approaches that either go beyond the scope of earlier scholarship, as Richard S. Dunn does in his comparative analysis of Massachusetts and Jamaica in the late seventeenth century; or exploits, insights and techniques of other disciplines, as Richard Maxwell Brown does in his call for a behavioral examination of Anglo-American politics. What Brown has perceived and Michael Kammen confirms in his piece on the failure of Anglo-American connections in the decade before the Revolution was the absence of ideology in the relationship and the dominance instead of an informal system of complementary interest groups linking colony and mother country.

The main emphasis of the book is on the latter years of the colonial empires, and the most useful portions of it are those which attempt to explain the breakdown of empire. For this reason perhaps the two essays of David S. Lovejoy on the Virginia Charter and Bacon's Rebellion, and Alison Gilbert Olson's on the Commissaries of the Bishop of London appear peripheral to the major theme. Their contributions are relatively traditional. That the new charter Charles II gave to Virginia in 1676 diminished the power of the vested interests in the colony and placed its government in a more subordinate position vis-a-vis England represents no startling conclusion. The role of the Anglican Church in politics emerges as too sketchy to serve as the infrastructure for the colonists, according to Mrs. Olson, "to organize opposition within an institution which was itself one of the bulwarks of empire." Even the lively comparison of Jamaica and Massachusetts Bay does not bring us much farther than

recognition that the West Indian island benefited more from the Stuart conception of empire than did the mainland colony. Where new ground is broken beyond the concerns of Andrews would seem to be in the essays of Katz and Kammen and in Thomas C. Barrow's presentation of the English view of the Old Colonial System.

Recognizing the need to expand the original base of the conference, the editors note that half of the contributors to the book had not been involved in the original forum but had been invited to provide articles afterwards to round out the treatment of the theme. Among this group is Joseph E. Illick who concludes the volume with an impressive array of names and a useful summation of recent scholarship on Anglo-American relations from 1675 to 1775. He ends much as Mrs. Olson had begun: with the suggestion that the answer to the question why the Anglo-American relationship broke down would help to explain the Revolution. If this relationship and the system which grew out of it was indeed the cement of empire, the subject is well worth the continuing attention of scholars. Although this book ends without definitive answers, the value of its quest is firmly established.

Kent State University LAWRENCE S. KAPLAN

Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639. By Van Cleaf Bachman. ("The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," ser. 87, no. 2. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. Pp. x, 183. Appendices, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

Mr. Dooley once declared that "histhry is a post-mortem examination. It tells ye what a counthry died iv." This latest autopsy of early Dutch policies in New Netherland persuasively suggests that inconstancy rather than neglect was the primary cause of the colony's demise. Testimony of contemporary settlers, echoed by O'Callaghan and Brodhead, blamed the lamentable conditions on the West India Company's poor administration. At best, this is certainly a provincial view. If the Imperial School of colonial historiography has taught us anything, it is the perspective afforded by examining problems from the vantage of London, Paris, or—in this instance—Amsterdam.

In 1623, the governing body of the new Company, the Assembly of the Nineteen, was confronted with a dilemma. Should it extract quick returns from New Netherland's furs or more remote profits from colonization and agricultural productivity? Instead of pursuing one course or the other, the directors tried to reap advantages

from both. Two reasons, says Bachman, prompted them to colonize: (1) the desire of certain Walloon families to emigrate, and (2) the ominous threat that the English might occupy the region. At least token settlement would proclaim a "hands off" policy against rival encroachment and imply a Dutch determination to populate New Netherland. Only Guinea, Guiana, and minor Caribbean salt deposits were then secure from Spanish influence; consequently, New Netherland must have seemed attractive as a stable investment opportunity.

Unfortunately for the Company, neither peltries nor plantations brought the desired security and profit. By 1628, New Netherland still could not feed herself, much less export sufficient grain, wine, and timber extracts. Abandonment of the settlements, however, was surely a humiliating prospect; hence The Nineteen offered inducements to private investors who would promote and support colonization. It was later charged—unjustifiably, the author concludes—that the revised charter of 1629, the *Vryheden,* was secured through fraud. The subsequent capture of the Spanish Silver Fleet eased the financial pinch and emboldened. The Nineteen to attack the captaincy of Pernambuco. When this campaign faltered, a reformist spirit animated the six new directors elected in 1631.

For the next three years, official policy was opposed to the patroons. The directors tried to disavow the *Vryheden,* exclude the patroons from the fur trade, and discourage them further through general harassment. Meanwhile, agricultural colonization languished, the Company reverting to the practices of its predecessors by trying to exploit the chartered monopoly on peltries. This hope proved illusory, but by 1638, as the Company seemed about to establish an empire on the equatorial Atlantic, the directors visualized new markets for the timber and agricultural products of New Netherland. Under the circumstances, their desire to retain the province was reasonable and justifiable.

Bachman's inquiry is based upon the sound premise that men can learn from failure as much as from success. The West India Company's initial settlement, he contends, was carefully conceived and well executed. Rather than dismissing the venture because it was ultimately defeated, he shows how The Nineteen, faced with unusual problems and opportunities, could make the decisions that they did.

The author has thoroughly exploited the sources, both in the Old Dutch and in translation. Occasionally, however, missing records have forced him to argue from collateral evidence (*e.g.,* (1) a comparison of the Guiana Charter of March, 1628 with the *Vryheden* of 1629 as a basis for surmising what the provisions of New Nether-

land's lost charter of March, 1628 probably were; (2) a critical evaluation of the complaints made by the patroons as a way of reconstructing the policy being applied against them.) To illustrate the economic risks of colonization, Bachman calculates tran-Atlantic shipping costs to have been from two to three times what they were to Baltic ports. Despite the limitations imposed by conjecture, an informed judgment is better than nothing. Any historian who has ever been frustrated because of lost documents can appreciate the intelligence and skill that Bachman has brought to his task. He makes a strong case for the practicality of the Company directors. If his text sometimes resembles a lawyer's brief, it does reveal how "slight miscalculations, bad luck, and powerful opposition" extinguished Dutch hopes in North America.

College of Charleston MALCOLM C. CLARK

Portraits of John Quincy Adams and His Wife. By Andrew Oliver. *The Adams Papers.* Lyman H. Butterfield, Editor-in-Chief. Series IV, Portraits. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970. Pp. xli, 335. $15.00.)

Whether from reasons of personal vanity or of *noblesse oblige,* John Quincy Adams sat for his portrait sixty-three times between ages sixteen and eighty, creating thereby an art gallery of American old masters, including John Singleton Copley, Gilbert Stuart, Asher B. Durand, Thomas Sully, Rembrandt Peale, George P. A. Healy, and William Henry Powell; as well as sculptors Horatio Greenough and Hiram Powers. He also sat for a few foreigners.

Adams was portrayed in every art form: painting, sculpture, engraving, silhouette, and at the end, photography. How many hundreds of hours he spent with artists can only be estimated, but the results cannot be doubted. Reproduced in this volume, a companion to the author's 1967 study of portraits of the sixth president's parents, are all the extant portraits of Mr. and Mrs. John Quincy Adams. Mr. Andrew Oliver has done a remarkable job in tracking down, not only those in public collections, but those still privately held. He includes, wherever possible, photographs of pictures whose present whereabouts are unknown, and even discusses works known to be destroyed of which no reproductions are available.

Here and there the author is able to correct mistakes that have developed during the course of a century. He proves that a painting owned by Lafayette College and believed to have been the work of James Frothingham was really done by Charles Bird King, (page 95). Later on (page 287), he corrects the sequence of an engraving and daguerrotype, proving his point by referring to the appropriate

illustrations. Accuracy is the *sine qua non* of scholarship, and Mr. Oliver is to be commended for his skill as a historical bloodhound.

Nevertheless, Mr. Oliver's text and scholarship, however exemplary, cannot rival the illustrations. We see the statesman, and to a lesser extent his wife, maturing and aging before us, as they did so long ago. Here is the young John Quincy, aged sixteen, round faced and bright-eyed, with powdered wig, sitting to an artist for the first time, and looking very stylish. We next see him as Minister to The Hague in 1795, aged twenty-eight, in the miniature he sent to his mother.

The star portrait of the early years is Copley's effort of 1796, which the artist sent to Mrs. Abigail Adams as a gift, and which now hangs in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. How handsome the diplomat is, slim, with full head of hair, clear-eyed and intelligent-looking. And then the ravages of time begin to take their toll. Painted again in 1815, he is fuller in the face and bald, but no less intelligent-looking. More and more he takes on the appearance of his vigorous middle-age and of the illustrations in textbooks: Humpty-dumptyish, strikingly egg-headed, until the last daguerrotype at age eighty, which shows him lined, hollow-cheeked, and exhausted, but holding on tenaciously to life.

This book is more than an album. Much can be learned from the text itself of life in the early days of the republic. Mr. Oliver points out the accessibility of a president in those days, and of how freely he could move about during his term of office (pages 123 and 134). Evidently people expected the president to sit for them merely because they wished to paint him, as in the case of Chester Harding or "Master" Hanks, a silhouettist. Even after his term in the White House had ended, Adams was importuned to sit for artists eager to do him. The rate accelerated, until in the last decade of his life, he sat twenty-nine times.

The reader becomes aware of the civilized manner of the olden time, or at least of the Adamses, when he learns that the family maintained friendly relations with Copley despite the painter's Toryism, and that Samuel F. B. Morse and another American painter, Charles Robert Leslie, remained at liberty in England throughout the War of 1812, without injury to their reputations either at home or abroad.

The literate good sense of John Quincy Adams comes through with almost every comment that is cited in the text. In 1825, now the president, he refuses to be painted in anything but "plain American dress." He senses that the days when an American public official should appear wearing gold braid, as he himself did in 1815, are over. At age seventy he composes a charming sonnet in honor of Hiram Powers who is sculpting him at the time.

To most artists, Adams showed an austere, dignified mien, or as Ralph Waldo Emerison wrote in his journal, "an extreme irritability of face. . . ." One painter, however, Jean-Baptiste Adolphe Gibert, a native of Guadaloupe, got below the surface in 1844 to produce a striking portrait which now hangs in the Secretary of State's suite. Old John Quincy, now seventy-seven, looks quite benign and relaxed, with a shrewd smile or trace of one. No wonder his wife thought well of it, although Mr. Oliver, for reasons not clear to this reviewer, does not.

Finally, we have the most widely reproduced portait, George P. A. Healy's creation of 1845 that has fixed Adams in the minds of Americans ever since, and which its subject regarded as the "strongest likeness" ever painted of him.

This latest addition to the Adams volumes is a continuing testimonial to the extraordinary worth of the series.

Kent State University HAROLD SCHWARTZ

Search for a Place: Black Separatism and Africa, 1860. By M. R. Delany and Robert Campbell. Introduction by Howard H. Bell. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1969. Pp. 250. $4.95.)

This work reprints two personal journals from 1859-60, Martin R. Delany's *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* and Robert Campbell's *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland.* Delany and Campbell headed a small party to the Niger Valley of West Africa to investigate possible settlement sites for American blacks wishing to emigrate. Their expedition and purpose differed from contemporary colonizationist efforts in that both men were Negro; they represented Negro constituents in the United States, and there were none of the dishonorable white men's motives behind the project.

Delany's account contains information about West Africa interspersed with personal views on the value of missionaries, goals for repatriated American blacks and calculations of Africa's potential. He reveals his American heritage by displaying many of the same biases characterizing fellow citizens. His anti-Catholic sentiment, his belief in racial superiority—only, in this case, it is American Negroes over Africans—and his desire to "civilize" the Africans reflect nineteenth century America.

Campbell, on the other hand, is much more the observer narrating his experiences in what is present-day Western Nigeria. His description of slave trade effects in the Niger River area, of inter-tribal warfare, and of the deleterious influence of white foreigners upon coastal Africans is representative of accounts from West Africa at this time.

Delany and Campbell were favorably impressed with their reception at Lagos and believed that the Niger Valley could provide the home they were seeking for themselves and their fellow blacks. Both pledged to emigrate to Africa with their families, but the Civil War, breaking out soon after their return to the United States, turned their minds to other concerns.

A deficiency in their reports which is not corrected by Professor Howard H. Bell of Morgan State College in his introduction is why the Republic of Liberia, founded by the American Colonization Society, would not do for a Negro home. In fact, Professor Bell relegates the colonization cause to asides which do not sufficiently convey the reasons that black nationalists bypassed already organized efforts in favor of their own emigration schemes. His remarks, forcing the reader to work at gaining a picture of the 1850's scene, lack clarity and continuity. Since both the Delany and Campbell accounts are ordinary travelers' tales—and Delany's is a poor one, at that—the real value of this book would have been a substantive discussion of the black nationalists who commissioned Delany and Campbell to undertake the trip to the Niger Valley. Combining an inadequate introduction with reprints of two reports from Africa does not justify the highly-promising title *Search for a Place: Black Separatism and Africa, 1860.*

Agnes Scott College PENELOPE CAMPBELL

Iron Afloat: The Story of the Confederate Ironclads. By William N. Still, Jr. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971. Pp. x, 260. $10.00.)

The Southern Confederacy was simply an attempt to do too much with too little. This is no better demonstrated than in the pitiful but gallant efforts the South made in naval affairs. Born without a fleet, the Confederacy never amassed a flotilla of such strength as to pose any kind of threat to Federal squadrons. Yet thanks to the existence and employment of a handful of ironclad ships, the Southern nation achieved a measure of success that at least delayed its defeat.

Those revolutionary iron battleships that first saw extensive use in the Civil War have long captured the imagination of dramatists and sentimentalists. However, and surprisingly, no scholar has heretofore produced an authoritative study on the unique vessels. Such a gap in our history has now been filled. In a documented work that commendably reads like a novel, William Still re-creates the story of the twenty-two ironclads the South put into action.

Two chapters provide a wealth of data on the design construc-

tion and workings of the ironclads. Other sections treat the use of ironclads in the defenses of Charleston, Wilmington, Mobile, and along the James and Mississippi rivers. Most interesting of all, however, are chapters on each of the Confederacy's three most famous ironclads: the *Virginia,* whose all-day, inconclusive battle with the *Monitor* rendered obsolete every navy in the world; the *Atlanta,* built with the expectation of protecting the Carolina coast but a ship doomed almost from the start; and the *Arkansas,* which enjoyed a brief moment of glory on the Mississippi. Other ironclads such as *Nashville, Louisiana* and *Albemarle* receive much discussion. Professor Still shows movingly how these vessels challenged the full might of the U. S. Navy in a display of bravery as stunning as it was desperate.

In handling the subject of the Confederacy's heroic efforts at sea, it is easy to become emotional if not chauvinistic. The author has avoided this pitfall through exhaustive research and careful judgment of the facts at hand. The result of his efforts is a book not only highly readable but also one that will be used for reference for many years to come. In short, this is historical reporting at its best.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

The South Reports the Civil War. By J. Cutler Andrews. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970. Pp. xv, 611. $15.00.)

When the Civil War began, approximately eight hundred newspapers were being published daily, weekly, and tri-weekly in the Confederate states. The leading ones such as the New Orleans *Picayune,* Mobile *Register,* Memphis *Appeal,* and several Richmond papers "ranked with the best in the country."

Most of the metropolitan newspapers sought to keep their constituency informed concerning the progress of the war. However, they were handicapped by inadequate telegraph communications, an inefficient centralized news agency, censorship restrictions, the hostility of some military commanders (especially Braxton Bragg) toward the press, and the rapid turnover of personnel.

Editors employed special correspondents and sent them to the camps or published the letters of volunteer reporters in the army. Some correspondents served more than one newspaper, and many of them used a variety of pseudonyms. The author has been able to identify most of these correspondents and two of them he designates as being "head and shoulders above the others." These two were Peter W. Alexander, whom he compares to the World War II

reporter Ernie Pyle, and Felix Gregory de Fontaine. One of the ablest correspondents and one whom the author was unable to identify used the pseudonym "Shadow" and described the campaign near Atlanta for the Mobile *Register*. On occasions during the war newspapers in Charleston, Knoxville, and Mobile employed female reporters and published their accounts of military activities and camp life.

Press coverage of the activities of the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of Tennessee was more complete than for other armies. Military engagements in the Trans-Mississippi region received meager attention, and "Southern navy reporting . . . was essentially nonexistent."

One of the primary aims of the Confederate press was to disseminate propaganda designed to boost the morale of its readers, to minimize difficulties and create the impression that the South was winning the struggle for independence. Therefore, "objective reporting and truthfulness . . . were not common practices." Nevertheless, the author maintains that "Southern war reporting at its best was comparable to the top performances of the North's leading reporters, in terms of reliability, readability, and descriptive qualities." Among the best reporting of the Confederate press was "the exposure of abuses in army and civilian administration and of misconduct by soldiers and public officials."

J. Cutler Andrews, professor of history at Chatham College in Pittsburgh and the author of *The North Reports the Civil War,* has consulted numerous files of Southern newspapers for the war years, and the personal papers of those associated with the press. One segment of the Southern press which was not consulted was the religious press. Attention is focused almost exclusively on battles and campaigns; home front concerns and problems have been practically ignored. The presentation is chronological, the documentation is thorough, and the footnotes are placed at the bottom of the pages. Although the volume's contribution to Civil War scholarship is minimal, it illustrates the problems of the Confederate press in its attempt to report the war.

University of Richmond W. HARRISON DANIEL

Last of the Steamboats, The Saga of the Wilson Line. By Richard V. Elliott. (Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers [1970]. Pp. 204. $10.00.)

Another important and interesting segment of maritime history has been completed with the publication of this volume. Although the story of a single company, the Wilson Line which operated prin-

cipally in those states ranging from Massachusetts to Virginia, it was known to thousands who traveled on their steamers.

This is a tale of steamboating starting with the origin of that means of transportation in this country and the beginnings of the Wilson Line, their steamers, and personalities involved during its almost century of operation.

Wilson Line steamers operated out of Baltimore, Washington, and in the lower section of the Chesapeake. Of local interest, Wilson steamers entered the excursion trade out of Baltimore in 1931 when the *State of Delaware* started her trips to Seaside Park in Calvert County. She was replaced by the *Dixie* in 1936 and that vessel by the *Bay Belle* in 1941. During World War II excursion activities were curtailed due to shortage of fuel oil but the *Dixie* plied between the foot of Broadway and the Fairfield shipyards transporting workers.

Other routes served by Wilson steamers out of Baltimore were to Cambridge, Chester River, Annapolis, and Chesapeake and Delaware Canal on special day excursions. The later vessels went to Betterton and Tolchester. All that is in the past now although the last steamboat in our harbor is a former Wilson liner, the *S. S. Potomac,* tied up at Pratt Strett since 1967 and which started her career in 1910 as the *City of Philadelphia* and now bearing her seventh name.

This line's activities out of Baltimore are not as detailed as those out of Philadelphia, Wilmington, and New York, perhaps since the author was more familiar with the latter ports. Although there are some photos of the steamers in Baltimore harbor and Annapolis, they are not shown at Betterton, Tolchester, or Cambridge. Nor are there views of their Light Street and foot of Broadway berths. Also lacking are reproductions of ads and schedules of Baltimore sailings although those of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston are included.

The Wilson Line came on the Baltimore scene rather late, and I doubt if it is regarded with as much sentiment among the older generations as the earlier steamers which plied to Chesapeake Beach, Fairview, and Tolchester. But to the younger generation who knew only the Wilson Line and its followers, they are bound to have their nostalgia stirred. It is a good book of a single line's operations. The illustrations are beautifully reproduced and numerous.

The Mariners Museum ROBERT H. BURGESS

NOTES AND QUERIES

INFORMATION WANTED:

David Hoffman, Baltimore lawyer who practiced during the antebellum years. Contact:

Max Bloomfield
History Department
Catholic University
Washington, D.C.

Works of the American artist, Thomas B. Craig, ANA (1849-1924). Sought in connection with the preparation of a complete list of Craig's art. Any person or institution owning or knowing the whereabouts of any of the artist's works, please contact:

Herbert Peck
Woodland, Phoenicia, N.Y. 12464
(Phone - 914-688-9994)

Theatrical activities in Baltimore, from beginnings (around 1772) to 1813. Also interested in buying theater playbills and/or playscripts published in Baltimore during that time. Contact:

David Ritchey
Speech Department
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, La. 70803

Brothers Jesse and William Hammett and their wives, Dianah and Nancy Cockrill. Hammets believed to be from Maryland originally. Contact:

H. J. Boothroyd
51 Indian Hill Road
Weston, Mass. 02193

Stephen F. Cameron, Confederate agent and courier. Cameron was married to Maryland A. Stites of Elkton, Cecil County, Maryland, daughter of General Stites, farmer and merchant in Elkton. Contact:

James O. Hall
1044 Douglas Drive
McLean, Virginia 22101

MICROFILM AVAILABLE

The "Minutes of the Trustees of the Poor" of Baltimore for 1833-1935 (with some exceptions) are now available on microfilm. The cost of the two rolls is $50.00 and may be purchased either from the Maryland Historical Society or Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1508 Pennsylvania Ave., Wilmington, Delaware 19806.

CORRECTION

In the summer 1971 issue two graphic errors were made. The portrait on page 178 was labeled Richard Henry Lee, 1732-1794, but was really a picture of Henry Lee, 1756-1818. The second error was on page 183 when the picture used was that of Reverdy Johnson, Jr., 1826-1907, instead of Reverdy Johnson, Sr., 1796-1876.

COVER

William J. Albert (1816-1879). Albert was one of the founders of the Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People and served as its president. From *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and D.C.* (New York, 1879).

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INDEX TO VOLUME LXVI

Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are set in italics.